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MILTON'S TRACTATE OF EDUCATION

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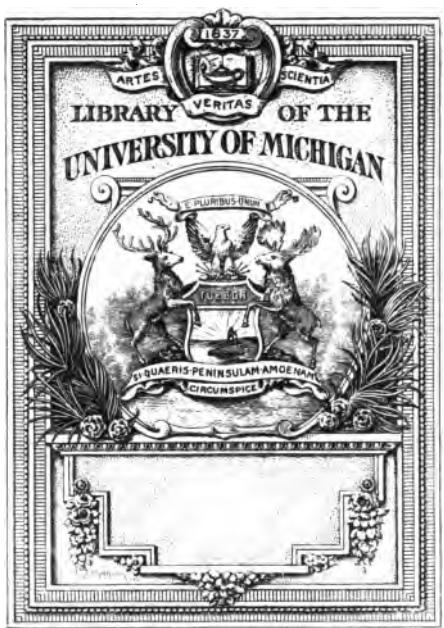
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TRACTATE OF EDUCATION

MILTON, John

TRACTATE OF EDUCATION

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EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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PREFACE.

THIS edition of Milton's *Tractate of Education* has been prepared for those who desire to study the language and style as well as the matter of the little book—for students of English as well as for educators. I hope it will not be thought that the original is hidden under the weight of commentary. I cannot place my hand upon my heart and say that there is nothing in notes or introduction which is not absolutely necessary for the understanding of the text; but I have tried on the one hand not to leave difficulties unexplained, and on the other to make all additional matter interesting.

Professor Masson's great book has been of chief assistance to me; and next to that, Professor

Laurie's lecture on Milton and Mark Pattison's short life of Milton. But information has been drawn from many books, amongst which I would especially mention Skeat's *Etymological Dictionary*.

EDWARD E. MORRIS.

THE UNIVERSITY, MELBOURNE,
April 16, 1895.

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INTRODUCTION.

I. MILTON'S EARLY LIFE.

It cannot be necessary to prefix a life of Milton to every edition of every separate work by him. For there are many lives of Milton, and lives written on every scale, from the longest and most complete biography in the language, down to short accounts that cover only a few pages. All, whose literary studies have led them over the same ground, must value the accuracy and fulness of Professor David Masson's great work, the whole title of which is "The Life of John Milton: narrated in connection with the Political, Ecclesiastical, and Literary History of his Time." Milton, it is true, seems sometimes overlaid with the general history: but the book remains a splendid monument to Milton's memory; all the facts are to be found there narrated in remarkable fulness; whilst, fortunately, within the last few months, a careful index volume has been given to the world. This is not the place to review the various short accounts of Milton's life. The student can easily

select one of them and gather from it the main facts.

If, however, a full account of Milton's life be not necessary here, it is yet very desirable for any one embarking on the study of a book like this Tractate, that he should ascertain the circumstances under which the book was written, the period of the author's life, and his other writings of that period.

Milton's life may be divided into three parts. There was an early spring time of poetry and a late harvest of poetry, divided by a middle life of prose. The first period containing the "Hymn on the Morning of Christ's Nativity," "L'Allegro," "Il Penseroso," "Arcades," "Comus" and "Lycidas." The character of these poems is quite different from that of "Paradise Lost," "Paradise Regained," and "Samson Agonistes." These long epic poems, and the drama cast in a Greek mould, are perhaps the poems upon which Milton's fame chiefly depends. Widely different as the two poetic periods of Milton's life are, they are separated from each other by a long interval which differs still more from both. During it the only element of the poet is to be found in seventeen sonnets, often very personal, and rich in autobiographical interest. The three periods of Milton's life may be thus named:

1. YOUNG POET.
2. PAMPHLETEER.
3. OLD POET OR BARD.

Two important years in English History may be selected as dividing off these periods from each other—1640, the date of the meeting of the Long Parliament, and 1660, the date of the Restoration. Born in December, 1608, Milton was nearly thirty-two when this central period began, and in his fifty-second year when it ended.

The "Tractate of Education" was published in June, 1644, when Milton's age was thirty-five and a half. A very brief account may be given of his earlier years, gathering fulness as we near the date of the Tractate.

Born in London, Milton was sent before the age of eleven as a day boy to the chief London school, St. Paul's, then situated at the east end of St. Paul's churchyard. This school had been founded a century earlier by Dean Colet, who, the great friend of Erasmus and of Sir Thomas More, was one of the first after the revival of letters to introduce the genuine study of the classics into England. The education which Milton there received was purely classical, but of a high order. Its influence pervades his whole life. He composed in Latin as easily as in English, whether in prose or in verse. Milton was a little over sixteen when he passed to Christ's College, Cambridge. Seven years did he spend at Cambridge, remaining three years after taking his B.A. degree; but even when he was admitted to the M.A. degree, he did not regard himself as thoroughly equipped for the battle of life. He retired to a country

village, to which his father had betaken himself for the evening of his life, Horton, in the part of Buckinghamshire nearest London, and there he remained for a period of nearly six years.

A few months before Milton left Cambridge, a friend, older than himself, remonstrated with him, fearing lest he was turning *dilettante*, and advised him to accept some serious work in life. To this remonstrance Milton wrote a careful reply which is extant, enclosing in the letter the well-known sonnet: "On his being arrived to the age of Twenty-three." The gist of the letter lies in this sentence: "This very consideration of that great commandment [not to hide the talent] does not press forward, as so many do, to undergo, but keeps off, with a sacred reverence and religious advisement how best to undergo—not taking thought of being *late*, so it give advantage to be more *fit*; for those that were latest lost nothing when the master of the vineyard came to give each one his hire." Milton desired that his preparation for life's work should be thorough, for early in life the feeling was entertained by him that he was designed to do some great work. Long before the writing of the poems which made his name famous, but nine years after the beginning of the retreat to Horton, in one of his pamphlets, he told[1] the world of the "inward prompting which now daily grew upon me, that, by labour and intent study (which I take to be my portion in this life),

[1] "Reason of Church Government."

joined with the strong propensity of nature, I might perhaps leave something so written to after times as they should not willingly let it die." In one of his Latin pamphlets[1] he gives us some picture of his life at Horton. The following is a translation:

"At my father's country residence, whither he had retired to pass his old age, I, in the most perfect leisure, had my time entirely free for going through the Greek and Latin writers; not but that sometimes I exchanged the country for the town, either for the purpose of buying books, or for that of learning something new in mathematics or in music, in which I then delighted."[2]

Near the end of the "Tractate of Education," Milton recommends that foreign travel should be postponed until education is completed, and this completion for the ordinary man he places at "three or four and twenty years of age"—two or three years it will be noted after leaving the "Academy." But this prolonged study at Horton was for Milton

[1] "Defensio Secunda."

[2] These are the words: "evolvendis Græcis Latinisque scriptoribus summum per otium totus vacare."

Translated in St. John's edition: "I enjoyed an interval of uninterrupted leisure, which I entirely devoted to the perusal of the Greek and Latin Classics."

Translated by Masson: "I, with every advantage of leisure, spent a complete holiday in turning over the Greek and Latin writers." This surely gives too modern a meaning to *vacare*, and hardly brings out the full force of the first syllable of *evolvendis*, which implies thoroughness.

a continuation of his education, and not until the close of it was he prepared to make the grand tour. Here the extract from the Latin pamphlet may be continued: "Having passed five years in this manner (studying at Horton), after my mother's death, I, being desirous of seeing foreign lands, and especially Italy, went abroad with one servant, having by entreaty obtained my father's consent."

In these days of easy travel, it is of interest to follow Milton's itinerary. First, his travels took him to Paris, where he was introduced to Hugo Grotius, author of the famous treatise "De Jure Pacis et Belli," the foundation of International Law. Thence he went south through Provence to Italy, which he entered at Nice, then, for many years later, Italian and not French. From Nice he sailed by packet to Genoa, thence to Leghorn, from which place he went on to Pisa and Florence. In this city he stayed two happy months, making, as he says, the acquaintance of "many truly noble and learned men." Amongst others, he "visited the famous Galileo, grown old a prisoner to the Inquisition for thinking in Astronomy otherwise than the Franciscan and Dominican licensers thought."[1] A similar stay of two months in Rome followed, where Milton was delighted with the sight of the antiquities, but hostile to the Catholicism that he saw. Naples followed after Rome, and from Naples Milton began to retrace his steps, although he had previously made up his mind to travel further.

[1] "Areopagitica," Hales's edition, p. 35.

"When I was desirous to cross into Sicily and Greece, the sad news of civil war coming from England called me back, for I considered it disgraceful that, while my fellow-countrymen were fighting at home for liberty, I should be travelling abroad at ease for intellectual purposes."

Wisely, however, Milton varied his return journey, stopping again for a while at Rome and Florence, then moving by Bologna to Venice. Thence he shipped home the books, especially music books, that he had collected in Italy. Travelling by Verona and Milan, he crossed the Alps, and went by Lake Leman to Geneva, the headquarters of Calvinism, with which then Milton was by no means out of sympathy, and so by Paris homeward. Milton's contemporary, Thomas Fuller, gave to his readers the advice, "Travel not beyond the Alps," but Milton felt himself too firmly grounded in religion and in virtue to be afraid of contact with Italian Catholicism or Italian morals.

Dr. Johnson, in his "Life of Milton," cannot refrain from looking "with some degree of merriment on great promises and small performance, on the man who hastens home, because his countrymen are contending for their liberty, and, when he reaches the scene of action, vapours away his patriotism in a private boarding-school." The fair comment on this is that Milton made no great promises, that he never seems to have intended to stand for Parliament or to accept a military command, and that his intention probably always was

to fight on liberty's behalf, when need arose, with his pen. Herein it may be conjectured that, perhaps, Dr. Johnson had been better pleased had Milton's performance been even smaller.

When Milton returned from abroad in August, 1639, and soon afterwards became a schoolmaster, he did not find civil war in England, but the events were in full course that led to the great Rebellion. It was yet three years before the Civil War broke out, but the minds of men were already being prepared for resistance to the royal authority. In Scotland, indeed, the Rebellion had begun, and it was probably news of that outbreak which had reached Milton at Naples. The introduction of the new Prayer Book into the Scottish churches had first led to a rioting. Then the General Assembly had met at Glasgow, had repudiated the authority of the King, and had abolished Episcopacy. It seemed not improbable that the example of Scotland would be followed in England; but the English, being more divided in opinion, were more slow to move, and were anxious to try gentler means first. King Charles advanced against the Scotch, but his army was only half-hearted in his cause, and with such soldiers it was impossible to win. Needing supplies, the king called Parliament together, though it had not met for eleven years. The Commons, however, were not in a mood to grant supplies unless grievances were redressed, and after a session of only twenty-three days the House was dissolved. Ever since that Parliament has been

known in history as the Short Parliament. When the Scots invaded England, the English would not fight them, and the state of the country at length compelled King Charles to call Parliament once more together. In November, 1640, the Long Parliament met, and was able to insist on the redress of grievances. This the Commons obtained before they would vote sufficient supplies for the payment of the Scottish army. The struggle between the King and the Commons continued, until it was evident that peace could no longer be maintained. Still there was delay. Early in the year 1642 King Charles entered the House of Commons in person, with armed men attending on him, in order to seize five leaders of the Opposition. They took refuge in the city which protected them. Even then Charles did not set up his standard until near the end of August, 1642, and the first battle, that at Edgehill, was not fought for two more months. For the first year the King gained ground. Then in the opposite camp Cromwell's views began to prevail, and he was able first to inspire his Ironsides, and then to form an army on similar principles. This was called the "New Model." With this new instrument it was not difficult to beat the Royalists.

In all this contest Milton's sympathies were strongly with the Houses and against the King. Wonder has been expressed that when the war broke out he did not take up arms. He was a skilful fencer, and, as can be shown from passages

in his works, not unfamiliar with the technicalities of drill and the military art. In the Tractate he wishes all his students taught military exercises. Whatever be the reason, however, Milton did not join the army. He probably felt his best weapon was the pen, and this he used, and was ready to use, on behalf of liberty. During this central period of his life, he was at first a schoolmaster, and afterwards Latin Secretary to the Commonwealth, a position nearly answering, though not in importance, to that of Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Correspondence with foreign Governments was carried on in Latin, and Cromwell's Government was able to secure the services of the best Latin scholar in England. It may fairly be said that Milton was the greatest man that ever was a schoolmaster—as a man the very head and front of the profession. In reading the Tractate, it should be remembered that it was not written by a theorist, but by a man with practical school experience, though his school was never large, and it might be contended that Milton was rather a tutor, as the modern phrase runs, than a schoolmaster.

But all the time Milton was a pamphleteer. He wrote twenty-five pamphlets—four in Latin, and the rest in English. The Latin pamphlets fall in the latter half of the period, and were intended to vindicate England in the eyes of foreign countries, especially for the treatment of Charles I. There is always that distinction between Milton's Latin and English. Latin is for

other nations. The English pamphlets were on various questions of the day. The most famous of them is the "Areopagitica," which, under the form of a speech, is a treatise in favour of the "liberty of unlicensed printing," or, in modern parlance, on the "freedom of the press." This, with the pamphlets on divorce, was the chief work of the very year in which he wrote and published his "Tractate of Education," to which he apparently attached but little importance. Though, however, the "Areopagitica," is the best known of Milton's pamphlets, of the most lasting influence, and the most worthy of his fame, it was not his first. He began upon ecclesiastical questions, the religious aspect of the differences that were dividing the King from the Commonwealth party. During 1641 he published four pamphlets against Episcopacy; in the next year another. In 1643 he was married, and very soon afterwards deserted by his young wife. His attention was then turned to the question of divorce, upon which his best set of pamphlets were written. Then there was a pause until the Civil War was over. Within a week or two after the execution of Charles I. he wrote the "Tenure of Kings," and a little later the "Latin Defences."

Of the central period of Milton's life two very different views are taken. Some regret that Milton the poet was ever anything else than a poet. They hold that the ideal life for a poet is apart from men, that connection with the business of life,

especially if it involves the maintenance of strong opinions by taking a side, is a defilement of the poet's singing robes. They wish that Milton could have continued to lead a life of retirement in sheltered seclusion like that of Horton,—could have led such a life as that of Wordsworth and of Tennyson. Others hold that the immersion in public affairs was necessary for Milton; that had he been a mere scholar and a mere poet, he would have been less great as a poet, because he would have been less the man: indeed, as it has been put, that the mere scholar could not have produced "Paradise Lost." As a rule, this view has been held by those who are in sympathy, or at least in partial sympathy, with Milton's cause. And what was Milton's cause? In a single word, liberty. His political and his religious sentiments may be summed up in that single word. He was opposed to tyranny, to arbitrary government. He was before his age in preaching the doctrine of toleration. He was heart and soul against ecclesiastical domination. Holding that the Reformation had not been carried far enough, he was opposed to the authority of the Bishops. When the Presbyterians carried on what he regarded as the offence of the Bishops, forcing men's consciences, Milton turned against them. It is a narrow view that regards Milton's religion as Puritanism. Austere in life, a stern enforcer of the doctrine of purity in his individual life, he held by much that would have shocked the Puritan leaders.

"He who would not be frustrate of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things, ought himself to be a true poem—that is, a composition and pattern of the best and honourablest things." That is a side of Milton's character which should not be forgotten by those who think that in his doctrine of divorce he carried too far the principle of liberty in a matter which affects the foundations of morality.

Milton's interest in public affairs is clearly shown in the Tractate. Short though it is, originally but eight quarto pages, it contains several allusions not specially connected with the subject of education. The military nature of the exercise recommended for the students of Milton's imaginary college is probably due to the fact that the Civil War was actually going on when the Tractate was written and published. Milton is evidently impatient with the leaders on his own side. Near the end there is an allusion to Essex. "Since the days of Nicias no general at the same time so devoted, so incompetent, and so self-satisfied had been placed at the head of an army."[1] This is the verdict of an impartial modern historian on Essex. Milton's view of him was that he lacked "just and wise discipline," and that he could not prevent his colonels cheating him as to the wages and number of their men. His incompetence was due to the fact that he had not "that knowledge which belongs to good governors" [p. 23]. In

[1] S. R. Gardiner, "Great Civil War," vol. i., p. 465.

another place Milton is laying down the doctrine that every man should know something of medicine. With such knowledge a commander would "not let the healthy and stout bodies of young men rot away." This is also glancing [p. 14] at Essex, whose army was much wasted by sickness during the twelve months before the appearance of the Tractate. Milton thinks Essex could have prevented this. As a strong argument that his students should be taught politics, Milton urges [p. 16] that they would not then be "such poor, shaken, uncertain reeds, of such a tottering conscience as many of our great Counsellors have lately shown themselves." That is a direct allusion to the political world around him; and when speaking of writing and composition, he makes a similar slap at the preachers [p. 19], who had evidently often sorely tried his patience, but it may be doubtful whether of patience he had any great store. Once more [p. 8], Milton points his hatred of tyranny by allusions to political life as he had known it.

II. ANALYSIS OF THE TRACTATE.

INTRODUCTION (pp. 1-10)—

1. Compliment to Hartlib.
2. Definition of the end of learning: "To repair the ruins of our first parents."

3. Faults in existing education:
   "Words, words, words!"
   Too many holidays.
   Too much composition.
   At Universities—too much logic and metaphysics.

4. Definition: "A complete and generous education"—"That which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully and magnanimously all the offices both private and public of peace and war."

5. Arrangements:
   House and ground spacious.
   School and University in one.
   One hundred and thirty students of ages between 12 and 21, enough for a foot company or two troops of cavalry.

I. STUDIES, in four stages[1] (pp. 10-20)—

First Stage.

1. Grammar, *sc.* Latin. Italian pronunciation.

2. Arithmetic and geometry.

[1] Taken from Masson, who conjectures the division of ages thus:

First, ...	12-13.
Second, ...	13-16.
Third, ...	16-19.
Fourth, ...	19-21.

Professor Laurie calls First and Second, Secondary School Stage; Third and Fourth, University Stage.

3. Moral training, books being read to the boys. Elementary religious teaching.

Second Stage.

1. Agricultural authors in Latin.
2. Geography and elements of physics.
3. Greek. Aristotle's physiology.
4. In Latin a wide range of reading:

Vitruvius, . .	Architecture.
Seneca, . . .	Natural facts.
Mela, . . .	Geography.
Celsus, . . .	Medicine.
Pliny, . . .	Natural history.
Solinus, . . .	Geography.

5. More science:
   Land surveying.
   Botany and geology.
   Anatomy.
   Medicine.
6. Practical instruction:
   (*a*) By hunters, fowlers, fishermen, shepherds, gardeners, chemists.
   (*b*) By architects, engineers, mariners, anatomists.
7. Poets, whose subjects were cognate to the other studies.

Third Stage.

1. Ethics.
2. Economics and a few comedies.

3. Politics.
4. Sunday work. Theology and church history.
5. Languages:
   (*a*) Italian.
   (*b*) Hebrew, with Chaldee and Syriac.
6. Choice histories.
   Heroic poems.
   Attic tragedies
   Political orations } with elocution.

Fourth Stage.

1. Logic.
2. Rhetoric.
3. Poetics.
4. Composition and oratory.

II. EXERCISE (pp. 20-26)—

1. Fencing and wrestling.
2. Music.
3. Military drill and soldiership, on foot and on horseback.
4. Travel in England (Abroad, later).

III. DIET (p. 26).—Plain, healthy, moderate.

CONCLUSION.—All this is hard, but worth a trial.

III. CRITICISMS.

Upon the scheme of education which Milton sets forth the following comments, not original, but gathered from various quarters, may be made.

1. Notice its limits. It is for one sex only. Milton had nothing to say on the higher education of women. Secondly, it is for one class only—the sons of gentlemen. Milton has no proposals for the general education of the people. His scheme is for "our noble and our gentle youth" (p. 19, l. 23), those who will hereafter be commanders (p. 23).

2. Notice the quantity to be learnt. He legislates, it has been said, "for a college of Miltons." The boys of his academy must certainly have larger capacity of brain and more extensive memory than ordinary boys. He says that as much Latin and Greek would be learnt "easily and delightfully in one year" as in his time seven or eight years were spent over (p. 5). But he is by no means explicit as to the means by which this particular change is to be brought about. His prescription is diminution of holidays, and diminution of composition. But pupils cannot always be learning: they need holidays. And composition certainly helps rather than hinders the knowledge of languages. Milton, says one of his biographers, makes "the well-known mistake of regarding education as merely the communication of useful knowledge. . . . It requires much observation of young minds to discover

that the rapid inculcation of unassimilated information stupefies the faculties instead of training them."[1]

3. "The *proper* study of mankind is man," not Nature. This line of Pope, though not quoted, is the gist of Dr. Johnson's objection to Milton's views. It may be answered: Milton does include in his course Ethics and History, Poetry and Dramatic Literature, which many generations have thought stimulating and wholesome food for young minds; but he does not give them pre-eminence, and attaches much greater importance to knowledge of Nature. The epigram about a famous Cambridge don may almost be applied to the Tractate: "Science is its forte, omniscience its foible." Milton's plan coincides to a great extent with that of many modern reformers, who would make education more scientific and less literary: only the element of "man" must not be omitted.

4. Milton would teach Agriculture through Latin, and Science through Greek! It is answered that no other course was open to him, not having the abundance of modern hand-books from which in the present day Science can be taught. But even two hundred and fifty years ago a great advance had been made on the methods of Cato and Columella, as was to be expected after fifteen centuries, and Milton's contemporaries were not satisfied with the physiology of Aristotle, nor with the medicine of Celsus.

[1] "Pattison," p. 49 (E. M. L. series).

5. The Academy is based on the barrack system —military rather than monastic. Apparently there are to be no holidays for the students to return to their homes. This is not the place to discuss the different merits of the day school and the boarding school. But in the present day the breach in the family life made by the latter is tempered by holidays. Milton says not a word about woman's influence. The Tractate, it may be observed, was written when his first wife had left him for her parents' home, and at least a year before the reconciliation.

6. Apparently the boys are to have no real play. Holidays are to vanish, except in the matter of the excursions as a part of discipline. In the same way the play hours are all to be made of use for purposes of drill. Fencing and wrestling, cadet corps and volunteering are all attractive in their way, but they will not make up for the freedom of the playing fields. "The essence of play is that it should be useless."[1]

It should always be remembered that the Tractate is not a formal treatise on the subject of Education. Of all Milton's pamphlets the shortest, it is put out with modesty,—"the few observations, which have flowered off, and are as it were the burnishing" of graver pursuits. This character is apparent in many places. Notice, for instance, on page 16, in connection with the famous passage about learning Italian: "Being perfect in the know-

[1] Professor Laurie.

ledge of personal duty, they may then begin the study of Economics." The modern reader naturally misunderstands this last word, giving it a modern meaning. Milton means that the student may pass from the study of his individual duty to that of the art of living in a family. Much of personal or individual duty, of course, implies a knowledge of this, and it would have been highly instructive if Milton had been more explicit, or could have told of some manual of Economics (in his sense). He does not, however, leave us without a clue to his meaning, because he selects two tragedies that treat of *household* (or economic) matters. The lesson of the "Alcestis" is unselfishness on the side of the wife, but Admetus, the husband, according to modern ideas, does not play a very noble part in accepting his wife's sacrifice. It then occurs to Milton that choice comedies may teach useful lessons in family life, and he wisely inserts comedies before tragedies. As he adds the words "Greek or Latin," the value of Italian comedies occurs to him. They must not be omitted, so, working backwards, he puts in the little sentence about learning Italian "easily at any odd hour," which has so often been quoted with scorn.

The following sarcastic remarks upon the impracticable character of Milton's education proceed from the pen of an anonymous literary man:[1] "Here will every stripling, by the time he is one

[1] Quoted from the *Quarterly Review* in "Selections from the Prose Works of John Milton, by J. G. Graham" (p. 145).

and twenty, have read more Latin and Greek authors than, perhaps, the most veteran scholar in these degenerate days; he will besides have mastered the Italian, the Hebrew, the Chaldee, and Syrian at 'odd hours.'[2] He will have made himself, in his schoolroom and playground, a complete farmer, architect, engineer, sportsman, apothecary, anatomist, law-giver, philosopher, general officer of cavalry, skilled in 'embattling, marching, encamping, fortifying, besieging and battering,' equal to the command of an army, the moment he has escaped from the rod."

On the other hand, the case for Milton is summed up by the Professor of the Institutes and History of Education in the University of Edinburgh, who puts Milton's ideas into modern language:

"Drop the mere externalities of the scheme and contemplate the ideas, and what do we find?

(1) A condemnation of exclusive Latin and Greek instruction, with which all thinking men *now* agree.

(2) A condemnation of the verbalism and formalism of the teaching, which also now meets with universal acceptance.

(3) An advocacy of nature-instruction and of practical hand-work: who is there among thinking educationalists now to question this?

[2] Not quite fair. Milton said Italian at any odd hour, Hebrew "at a set hour" (p. 17, l. 15).

(4) An earnest plea for direct word instruction: still awaiting response from our schools.

(5) A denunciation of attempts at composition without material to write about.

(6) Generally, the putting the study of the seat of sense and the seat of the Humanities before the study of the organic arts—Grammar, Logic, Rhetoric: "Matter before Form." All intelligent teachers (at least, theoretically) now accept this.

(7) The recommendation of technical instruction in its widest sense.

(8) The advocacy of gymnastic and military drill, now accepted elements in all properly organized education.

(9) The teaching of Latin grammar by means of the English tongue, and not in Latin, as was then, and until quite recently, universal.

Even his encyclopædism may be defended as a necessary protest against the meagre intellectual life of the schools of his time."[1]

If there were nothing worth remembering in the Tractate except the glorious definition of a complete and generous education, great would be its value. Not the particular recommendations of the scheme, but "the noble moral glow that pervades it, the mood of magnanimity in which it is conceived and written, and the faith it inculcates in the powers of the young human spirit, if rightly

[1] "Addresses on Educational Subjects," by S. S. Laurie (pp. 188, 189).

nurtured and directed,"—these, rightly says Professor Masson, "are merits everlasting."

IV. BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The Tractate was published in June, 1644, in quarto, eight pages, in rather small type. It was anonymous, and had no title page, but was simply headed—"Of Education: to Master Samuel Hartlib." All who cared knew that the eight pages were Milton's; but it is doubtful whether many cared, and probably the circulation was small. Twenty-nine years later, in 1673, when Milton published a second edition of his Minor Poems, he reprinted, in better form of type, this small pamphlet at the end of the book. On the title page of the volume occurs for the first time the name "Tractate," under which the little book generally passes. "Poems, etc., upon several occasions. By Mr. John Milton. Both English, and Latin, etc. Composed at several times. With a small Tractate of Education to Mr. Hartlib." It is only on the title page that the name Tractate occurs. When the text begins it is headed as before—"Of Education: To Master Samuel Hartlib," with these words added, "Written above twenty years since." The addition shows a singular carelessness on Milton's part as to bibliography. Curiously enough, in complete sets of Milton's works, this heading, which understates by nine years the interval between the two editions, is usually reprinted without explanation.

More than once the book has been printed separately. It was republished, according to Todd, in 1751, "with a dedication to Lord Harcourt, at that time governor to the Prince of Wales and Prince Edward." At that time Frederick, Prince of Wales, was just dead. His eldest son, afterwards George III., was then thirteen; and Edward Augustus, afterwards Duke of York, was just twelve. When a little over twenty-eight the latter died at Monaco. The dedication adds that it was thought necessary "at this juncture to reprint it, as the prosperity of ourselves and posterity depends, in a great measure, on the education of two princes, whose example in learning and virtue, it is hoped, will be a model for the youth of this nation." It would certainly have been better reading for George III. than Bolingbroke's "Idea of a Patriot King," but it is quite evident that the publication had no effect on the training of his future Majesty. The Tractate was printed again seventy-five years ago, quite without comment, as part of the prospectus of a projected "Academical Institution" in Edinburgh.[1]

[1] The following editions may be enumerated, mostly without notes:

Complete Works, - -	Mitford, 1851.
Prose Works, - - -	Toland, 1698.
	Birch, 1738 and 1753.
	Symmons, 1806.
	Fletcher, 1833.
	St. John, 1848.
With "Areopagitica," -	Blackburne, 1780.
	Morley, 1888.

Todd says there is a French Translation.

The only separate edition accompanied by notes and an introduction for the use of students (Cambridge University Press, 1890), that of Mr. Oscar Browning of Cambridge, and formerly a master at Eton, is described as "an exact facsimile of the edition of 1673, published in Milton's lifetime." With a curious idolatry it even reproduces the misprints of that edition. It has all the old-fashioned spelling, the italics and the capitals. It is quite true that Milton was living when the edition of 1673 was published, and if Milton had enjoyed the use of his eyesight, and had been particular about his spelling and the general look of his pages, there would be something to be said for reproducing the book as he sent it to the press. But his sight began to fail in 1644, the year when the little book first appeared, carelessly printed, and in an awkward shape and form: six years later the great work of the "Defensio pro populo Anglicano" made Milton completely blind.

There is no reason to believe that Milton ever attached importance to English spelling or to stops. Though Chaucer expressed the hope that none would "miswrite" his little book, the importance of spelling may on the whole be considered rather a modern fancy. Milton probably left such matters wholly to the printer. "To 'modernize,'" says Mark Pattison in his preface to the "Essay on Man," "the spelling of a classic is nothing less than to deface one of the monuments of the language." Great is the authority of the late Rector of Lincoln,

but in a book intended for educational purposes it seems better to follow the general practice. "Spelling in Hooker's time, and for long afterwards, was not only anomalous, as ours also is, but anomalous with an apparent unconsciousness of the possibility of regularity."[1] Of the many editions of Shakspere's plays with teaching in view, none follow the vagaries of the First Folio, which would certainly have been printed with much greater care had Shakspere himself superintended it, as he did the printing of the Sonnets. There are facsimile editions of Bacon, but hardly *in unum scholarum*; and the spelling of Milton's poems is modernized in the many excellent students' editions of them. Many of the spellings of the old edition—they cannot be called Milton's spellings—are not only wrong, but without excuse—*e.g.*, *forreign, perswasion, comming, extream, theam, souldery, mispending, adoe. Humane* for "human," *then* for "than," though common in original editions of Bacon and Shakspere, are misleading; *fain'd* for "feigned" is probably a misprint. If an old use, it is unfortunate. As is pointed out in the note, p. 16, l. 11, Milton would probably have written *Œconomics.* Where there is a reason for them several of the old spellings have been retained: *fadomless, rimers, docible, spatious, unexpedient, pronuntiation,* and *kicshoes.* The greatest doubt has been felt about

[1] Hooker, Book I. of the "Ecclesiastical Polity," Introduction, p. xxvii. Hooker died in 1600, 44 years before the Tractate.

the past participles, which are printed thus: *valu'd, reduc'd, prest, tost.* Of these only the second would cause a moment's hesitation, but though W. S. Landor and Hare tried to revive this form of spelling, and much can be said for it, the doubt has been solved by modernizing all.

The use of italic type in the edition of 1673 is not very satisfactory. It would seem to be used for proper names, of a book, a place, or a man, for a word that is not English, as *Proairesis, Monsieurs,* and for recently introduced words. In this edition it has been reserved for these purposes. Where it was also used for words not then new, or for any other reason, such as emphasis, the words have been printed in ordinary type. The recently introduced words are seven:—

Academy, p. 9, l. 23. p. 21, l. 1.
Anglicism, p. 6, l. 8.
Idea, p. 3, l. 13.
Idiom, p. 6, l. 7.
Organist, p. 22, l. 9.
Sophistry, p. 9, l. 21.
Tactics, p. 23, l. 12.

The use of capital letters seems to be capricious, and based on no clear law. In Old English the practice seems to have been like the modern German rule, to begin all nouns with capitals. In the edition of 1673 about half the nouns have capitals, apparently the more important nouns. The modern English use is much more sparing of them. In this edition a larger proportion will be found than in ordinary books, but many of those in the edition of 1673 have been removed.

For a modern reader the division into paragraphs, probably Milton's own, is inadequate. There are only eight in the whole Tractate, and in this edition a paragraph would be on an average three-and-a-half pages. At one place (p. 20, l. 12) there is a great break, with the sub-heading "Their Exercise." There is no sufficient reason why one sub-division of the book should have a heading and none of the others, which are certainly of equal importance. In this edition paragraphs have been made of modern length, and there are about three times as many.

V. MILTON'S PROSE STYLE.

It is the duty of criticism not to be dismayed by even the greatest names. The attitude of mind that merely finds what is to be admired in the writings of great authors, like Shakspere, Goethe, and Milton, may be reverential, but certainly is not critical. It is not impertinent to dissect Milton's prose style: to disapprove of it is consistent with strong admiration for Milton. Others have found fault with it before. Hallam, for instance, says that "an absence of idiomatic grace and an use of harsh inversions violating the rules of language distinguish in general the writings of Milton, and require in order to compensate them such high beauties as will sometimes occur." Keble points out the contrast between the extremes of Milton's prose, though he is probably referring rather to the

matter than to the manner: "It must be a most expressive warning to men of genius to read, as they often may in his Tracts, one sentence written as if an angel had held the pen, and the next, as it seems to me, more like Cobbett's style than any other I know of." But on this head Milton is his own critic, when he says: "If I were wise only to my own ends I should not choose this manner of writing, wherein knowing myself inferior to myself, led by the genial power of nature to another task, I have the use as I may account but of my left hand."[1] And yet Milton's greatness as a prose writer is hardly sufficiently recognized. The subject-matter of much of his prose is hopelessly out of date and lacking in interest to modern readers, and the style in which he writes is so entirely different from that of later prose writers whom we have all been taught to admire and to imitate, that the said modern readers are content to accept his own view, and to regard his poetry as due to the inborn power of nature and his prose as an unfortunate task perversely imposed by himself. Matthew Arnold, while admitting the advantage that Milton writing verse has over Milton writing prose, and laying the blame of the latter on the inadequacy of the vehicle, because a good prose style had not in Milton's time been invented, yet says: "No contemporary English prose writer must be matched with Milton except Milton himself." Perhaps it is a little unfortunate that the strongest and

[1] "Reason of Church Government."

best known eulogy on Milton's prose proceeds from Macaulay: "As compositions, they deserve the attention of every man who wishes to become acquainted with the full power of the English language. They abound with passages compared with which the finest declamations of Burke sink into insignificance. They are a perfect field of cloth of gold. The style is stiff with gorgeous embroidery. Not even in the earlier books of the "Paradise Lost" has the great poet ever risen higher than in those parts of his controversial works in which his feelings, excited by conflict, find a vent in bursts of devotional and lyric rapture. It is, to borrow his own majestic language, 'a sevenfold chorus of hallelujahs and harping symphonies.'"[1] It has been pointed out[2] that the comparison with Burke is a little unfortunate, for Burke's prose has usually been thought "too declamatory, too easily carried away by his imagination," and now we are told that Milton is more declamatory than Burke. One cannot help wondering what Milton himself would have thought of Macaulay's praise. Lastly, it must be remembered that even this praise is a praise of parts and not of Milton's prose as a whole, and is quite consonant with the distinguishing comment of Hallam and of Keble. Milton's prose is rich and powerful, rich in magnificent passages—what Horace calls "purple patches"—and powerful in much of the matter and the argument, but certainly

[1] "Essay on Milton," near the end.

[2] "Lectures and Essays," by Sir John Seeley, p. 93.

it is stronger in the parts than as a whole. Coleridge calls the style of Sir Thomas Browne "hyper-Latinistic." It is not a satisfactory expression, being a hybrid, but it is clear that Coleridge means that there may be a good Latinized style—many a critic would select Gibbon's as representative of such a style—but that Browne's is too much influenced by Latin. Yet the Latin element in Browne is chiefly in vocabulary, and is not largely present in his sentence-structure. In the case of Milton it is rather in the latter than in the former. Now and then he uses English words, derived from the Latin, in a Latin rather than in an English sense; but the Latin influence is chiefly visible in the build and structure of his sentences. He is angry with boys who acquire an "ill habit of wretched barbarizing against the Latin and Greek idiom, with their untutored Anglicisms, odious to be read" (p. 6); but apparently he does not recognize that a Latin idiom in English is equally to be avoided. In Milton's time, it should be remembered, and indeed from the Renaissance almost to our own day, Cicero's Latin was almost the only Latin acknowledged. Cicero loves a long, built-up sentence. Milton, through his great knowledge of Latin and familiarity with it, imitates this structure of sentence: but Latin is an inflected language. In an inflected language, inversions for the sake of emphasis are possible which breed obscurity in an uninflected language, such as English, which has lost almost all its inflections. There is

a great deal to be said for the use of a periodic sentence in English. It is stately, dignified, and can be very harmonious. Here is an admirable definition of it: "Each of these stately periods carries along with it, over and above its direct predication, all the conditions and exceptions to which the writer wishes to submit that predication, all woven into one structure. There is in each sentence so much as fills the mind to the utmost strain of its capacity for attention; and then a pause for reflection and digestion."[1] Or take an earlier way of describing the same thing. Fuller, in describing Hooker's preaching, says, "His stile was long and pithy, drawing on a whole flock of clauses before he came to the close of a sentence."[2] These are the rules of the period, and those who use the period should abide by them, however difficult they are. Milton assuredly does not. He seems to believe in length of sentence for its own sake. Here is a passage from one of his prose works:

"I had no fear but that the authors of Smectymnuus, to all the show of solidity which the Remonstrant could bring, were prepared both with skill and purpose to return a sufficing answer, and were able enough to lay the dust and pudder in antiquity which he and his, out of stratagem, are wont to raise; but, when I saw his weak arguments headed with sharp taunts, and that his design was,

[1] Mark Pattison, "Essay on Man," Introductory, p. 20.

[2] Quoted in Hooker, Book I. of "Ecclesiastical Polity, edited by Dean Church, Introduction, p. 23.

if he could not confute them, at least with quips and snapping adagies to vapour them out, which they, bent only upon the business, were minded to let pass, by how much more I saw them taking little thought for their own injuries, I must confess I took it as my part the less to endure that my respected friends, through their own unnecessary patience, should thus lie at the mercy of a coy, flurting style, to be girded with frumps and curtal gibes by one who makes sentences by the statute, as if all above three inches long were confiscate."[1]

Could any one who heard that sentence read take in its drift at once? Could the ordinary reader take it in at a single reading? It is really in two parts, each of which may be regarded as a separate sentence. The first contains one awkward inversion, "to all" depending on "answer." From "but, when" to the end of the sentence, there are no fewer than ten separate clauses, each in its way very different. The period proper ends at "flurting style." Certainly a change has come over the spirit of English composition since a sentence so elaborately built up could be admired. It is difficult to know how sentences should be measured by an inch rule, for the only measure is the question, Are they clear? It is even not easy to decide whether the three inches are to be measured along the line or down the page. One makes a very short, and the other surely an unduly

[1] From "Animadversions," the fourth pamphlet against Episcopacy.

long sentence. What the French call *le style coupé* is to Milton a coy, flirting style, and short sentences are curtal gibes. Here, from the same book, is another attack on short sentences:

"[He] sets me out half-a-dozen tizzical[1] mottoes, wherever he had them, hopping short in the measure of convulsion fits; in which labour the agony of his wit having escaped narrowly, instead of well-sized periods, he greets us with a quantity of thumb-ring posies."

It was the fashion of the day for grave persons, such as aldermen, to wear a broad gold ring upon the thumb, and on these rings, as on knives and swords, short mottoes were often engraven. A good instance is given by Shakspere in the "Merchant of Venice," v. i. 148:

> "a paltry ring
> That she did give to me, whose posy was
> For all the world like cutler's poetry
> Upon a knife, "Love me and leave me not."

So Milton objects to short sentences, and prefers them long. The modern world seems to prefer them short; but the wise critic says that length of sentence should not be the criterion. Whether

[1] "Tizzical" is Milton's own spelling. Nowadays we spell it more correctly, "phthisical," though doctors pronounce the word as if the first vowel were long. Masson interprets "tizzical" by "asthmatic;" but it means "consumptive." The idea is that the sentence itself is wasted away by disease. An asthmatic sentence would rather mean one such as would be gasped out by a man suffering from asthma.

long or short, let them be clear; and do not make all of one pattern. What Cowper said in another connexion is true: "Harmony, the path to fame." In the structure of the sentence the truest harmony is to be found in neither extreme, but in sentences of moderate length carefully constructed.

When Keble compared some of Milton's sentences to Cobbett's style he was referring to their coarseness rather than to their force. Many critics hold that Cobbett's is a model style for forcible writing. Cobbett, like Milton, wrote a Grammar, but whilst Milton's was a Latin Accidence, Cobbett's was an English Grammar. Milton does not include English Grammar among the studies of his Academy, and he is often inaccurate and even ungrammatical. Some of these inaccuracies are pointed out in notes:

A sentence that is no sentence (p. 9, l. 22).

Wrong use of present participle (p. 4, l. 22; p. 10, l. 6).

No subject to view (p. 13, l. 18).

Omitted antecedent (p. 1, l. 8; p. 6, l. 21).

Inversions, first two sentences (p. 3, ll. 4 and 5).

Either and or (p. 2, l. 20; p. 7, l. 21; p. 8, l. 19).

It is sometimes urged that Milton wrote in a hurry, and that may be true of the Tractate, but very similar mistakes can be found in books that were published without any need for hurry at all.

Let us, however, leave Milton's style in the words of his defenders:

"Milton's prose, all exceptions taken, and all can be allowed their force, remains the most extraordin-

ary literary prose, and the most wonderful poet's prose, embodied in English literature." A. W. Ward.[1]

"As Milton's poetry is unique in one section of our literature, so is his prose in the other. It is prose of that old English, or as some might say, old Gothic kind which was in use among us ere yet men had given their days and nights to Addison, and when it seemed as lawful that thought in prose should come in the form of a brimming flood, or even of a broken cataract, as in that of a trim and limpid rivulet. But even amid the greatest specimens of such prose of the pre-Addisonian period Milton's prose is peculiar. That of Bacon may roll with it a richer detritus of speculative hints and propositions; that of Jeremy Taylor may have a mellower beauty; but no prose in the language is grander than Milton's or more indicative of moral greatness. Its characteristic in its best passages is a kind of sustained and sometimes cumbrous and operose magniloquence. Milton tells us himself that he wrote slowly, and one can see that as he wrote he was abashed by no weight of thought or sublimity of fancies that could come to him, but would pile thoughts and fancies together till no prose sentence could convey the whole burden in its cadence, and the residue had to be conveyed in a poetic chaunt." Masson.[2]

[1] "English Prose Selections," edited by Henry Craik, p. 463.

[2] "Encyclopædia Britannica," s.v., Milton.

TRACTATE OF EDUCATION:

TO MASTER SAMUEL HARTLIB.

Mr. Hartlib,—I am long since persuaded, that to say, or do aught worth memory and imitation, no purpose or respect should sooner move us, than simply the love of God, and of mankind. Nevertheless, to write now the reforming of Education, though it be one of the greatest and noblest designs that can be thought on, and for the want whereof this nation perishes, I had not yet at this time been induced, but by your earnest entreaties, and serious conjurements; as having my mind for the present half diverted in the pursuance of some other assertions, the know-

ledge and the use of which, cannot but be a great furtherance both to the enlargement of truth, and honest living, with much more peace. Nor should the laws of any private friendship have prevailed with me to divide thus, or transpose my former thoughts, but that I see those aims, those actions which have won you with me the esteem of a person sent hither by some good providence from a far country to be the occasion and the incitement of great good to this island.

And, as I hear, you have obtained the same repute with men of most approved wisdom, and some of highest authority among us; not to mention the learned correspondence which you hold in foreign parts, and the extraordinary pains and diligence which you have used in this matter both here, and beyond the seas; either by the definite will of God so ruling, or the peculiar sway of nature, which also is God's working. Neither can I think that, so reputed and so valued as you are, you would to the forfeit of your own discerning ability, impose upon me an unfit and over-ponderous argument, but that the satis-

faction which you profess to have received from those incidental discourses which we have wandered into, hath pressed and almost constrained you into a persuasion, that what you require from me in this point, I neither ought, nor can in conscience defer beyond this time both of so much need at once, and so much opportunity to try what God hath determined.

I will not resist, therefore, whatever it is either of divine, or human obligement that you lay upon me; but will forthwith set down in writing, as you request me, that voluntary *Idea*, which hath long in silence presented itself to me, of a better Education, in extent and comprehension far more large, and yet of time far shorter, and of attainment far more certain, than hath been yet in practice. Brief I shall endeavour to be; for that which I have to say, assuredly this nation hath extreme need should be done sooner than spoken. To tell you therefore what I have benefited herein among old renowned authors, I shall spare; and to search what many modern *Janua's* and *Didactics*, more than ever I shall read, have projected,

my inclination leads me not. But if you can accept of these few observations, which have flowered off, and are, as it were, the burnishing of many studious and contemplative years altogether spent in the search of religious and civil knowledge, and such as pleased you so well in the relating, I here give you them to dispose of.

The end then of Learning is to repair the ruins of our first parents by regaining to know God aright, and out of that knowledge to love him, to imitate him, to be like him, as we may the nearest by possessing our souls of true virtue, which being united to the heavenly grace of faith makes up the highest perfection. But because our understanding cannot in this body found itself but on sensible things, nor arrive so clearly to the knowledge of God and things invisible, as by orderly conning over the visible and inferior creature, the same method is necessarily to be followed in all discreet teaching. And seeing every nation affords not experience and tradition enough for all kind of learning, therefore we are chiefly taught the languages

of those people who have at any time been most industrious after wisdom; so that language is but the instrument conveying to us things useful to be known. And though a linguist should pride himself to have all the tongues that *Babel* cleft the world into, yet, if he have not studied the solid things in them as well as the words and lexicons, he were nothing so much to be esteemed a learned man, as any yeoman or tradesman competently wise in his mother dialect only.

Hence appear the many mistakes which have made learning generally so unpleasing and so unsuccessful. First we do amiss to spend seven or eight years merely in scraping together so much miserable Latin and Greek, as might be learnt otherwise easily and delightfully in one year. And that which casts our proficiency therein so much behind is our time lost partly in too oft idle vacancies given both to Schools and Universities, partly in a preposterous exaction, forcing the empty wits of children to compose themes, verses and orations, which are the acts of ripest judgment and the final work of a head filled by

long reading and observing, with elegant maxims, and copious invention. These are not matters to be wrung from poor striplings, like blood out of the nose, or the plucking of untimely fruit: besides the ill habit which they get of wretched barbarizing against the Latin and Greek *idiom*, with their untutored *Anglicisms*, odious to be read, yet not to be avoided without a well continued and judicious conversing among pure authors digested, which they scarce taste. Whereas, if after some preparatory grounds of speech by their certain forms got into memory, they were led to the praxis thereof in some chosen short book lessoned throughly to them, they might then forthwith proceed to learn the substance of good things, and Arts in due order, which would bring the whole language quickly into their power. This I take to be the most rational and most profitable way of learning languages, and whereby we may best hope to give account to God of our youth spent herein.

And for the usual method of teaching Arts, I deem it to be an old errour of Universities not yet well recovered from the

Scholastic grossness of barbarous ages, that in stead of beginning with Arts most easy, and those be such as are most obvious to the sense, they present their young unmatriculated novices at first coming with the most intellective abstractions of Logic and Metaphysics; so that they having but newly left those Grammatic flats and shallows where they stuck unreasonably to learn a few words with lamentable construction, and now on the sudden transported under another climate to be tossed and turmoiled with their unballasted wits in fadomless and unquiet deeps of controversy, do for the most part grow into hatred and contempt of learning, mocked and deluded all this while with ragged notions and babblements, while they expected worthy and delightful knowledge; till poverty or youthful years call them importunately their several ways, and hasten them with the sway of friends either to an ambitious and mercenary, or ignorantly zealous Divinity; some allured to the trade of Law, grounding their purposes not on the prudent and heavenly contemplation of justice and equity

which was never taught them, but on the promising and pleasing thoughts of litigious terms, fat contentions, and flowing fees; others betake them to state affairs, with souls so unprincipled in virtue and true generous breeding, that flattery, and Court shifts and tyrannous aphorisms appear to them the highest points of wisdom, instilling their barren hearts with a conscientious slavery, if, as I rather think, it be not feigned. Others, lastly, of a more delicious and airy spirit, retire themselves, knowing no better, to the enjoyments of ease and luxury, living out their days in feast and jollity; which indeed is the wisest and the safest course of all these, unless they were with more integrity undertaken. And these are the fruits of misspending our prime youth at the Schools and Universities as we do, either in learning mere words or such things chiefly, as were better unlearnt.

I shall detain you no longer in the demonstration of what we should not do, but straight conduct ye to a hill side, where I will point ye out the right path of a virtuous and noble

Education; laborious indeed at the first ascent, but else so smooth, so green, so full of goodly prospect, and melodious sounds on every side, that the harp of *Orpheus* was not more charming. I doubt not but ye shall have more ado to drive our dullest and laziest youth, our stocks and stubs from the infinite desire of such a happy nurture, than we have now to hale and drag our choicest and hopefullest wits to that asinine feast of sowthistles and brambles which is commonly set before them, as all the food and entertainment of their tenderest and most docible age. I call therefore a complete and generous Education that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully and magnanimously all the offices both private and public of peace and war. And how all this may be done between twelve, and one and twenty—less time than is now bestowed in pure trifling at Grammar and *Sophistry*, is to be thus ordered.

First, to find out a spatious house and ground about it fit for an *Academy*, and big enough to lodge a hundred and fifty persons, whereof twenty or thereabout may be attend-

ants, all under the government of one, who shall be thought of desert sufficient, and ability either to do all, or wisely to direct, and oversee it done. This place should be at once both School and University, not heeding a remove to any other house of scholarship, except it be some peculiar college of Law, or Physic, where they mean to be practitioners; but as for those general studies which take up all our time from *Lilly* to the commencing, as they term it, Master of Art, it should be absolute. After this pattern, as many edifices may be converted to this use, as shall be needful in every city throughout this land, which would tend much to the increase of learning and civility every where. This number, less or more thus collected, to the convenience of a foot company, or interchangeably two troops of cavalry, should divide their day's work into three parts, as it lies orderly: —their Studies, their Exercise, and their Diet.

For their Studies: First, they should begin with the chief and necessary rules of some good Grammar, either that now used, or any

better: and while this is doing, their speech is to be fashioned to a distinct and clear pronuntiation, as near as may be to the Italian, especially in the vowels. For we Englishmen being far northerly, do not open our mouths in the cold air wide enough to grace a southern tongue; but are observed by all other nations to speak exceeding close and inward: so that to smatter Latin with an English mouth, is as ill a hearing as Law-French. Next to make them expert in the usefullest points of Grammar, and withal to season them, and win them early to the love of virtue and true labour, ere any flattering seducement, or vain principle seize them wandering, some easy and delightful book of Education would be read to them; whereof the Greeks have store, as *Cebes*, *Plutarch*, and other Socratic discourses. But in Latin we have none of classic authority extant, except the two or three first Books of *Quintilian*, and some select pieces elsewhere.

But here the main skill and groundwork will be, to temper them such lectures and explanations upon every opportunity, as may lead

and draw them in willing obedience, inflamed with the study of learning, and the admiration of virtue, stirred up with high hopes of living to be brave men, and worthy patriots, dear to God, and famous to all ages. That they may despise and scorn all their childish, and ill-taught qualities, to delight in manly, and liberal exercises: which he who hath the art, and proper eloquence to catch them with, what with mild and effectual persuasions, and what with the intimation of some fear, if need be, but chiefly by his own example, might in a short space gain them to an incredible diligence and courage: infusing into their young breasts such an ingenuous and noble ardor, as would not fail to make many of them renowned and matchless men. At the same time, some other hour of the day, might be taught them the rules of Arithmetic, and soon after the elements of Geometry, even playing, as the old manner was. After evening repast, till bed-time their thoughts will be best taken up in the easy grounds of Religion, and the story of Scripture.

The next step would be to the authors of

Agriculture—*Cato*, *Varro*, and *Columella*, for the matter is most easy, and if the language be difficult, so much the better, it is not a difficulty above their years. And here will be an occasion of inciting and enabling them hereafter to improve the tillage of their country, to recover the bad soil, and to remedy the waste that is made of good: for this was one of *Hercules'* praises. Ere half these authors be read (which will soon be with plying hard, and daily) they cannot choose but be masters of any ordinary prose. So that it will be then seasonable for them to learn in any modern author, the use of the globes, and all the maps; first with the old names, and then with the new: or they might be then capable to read any compendious method of Natural Philosophy. And at the same time might be entering into the Greek tongue, after the same manner as was before prescribed in the Latin; whereby the difficulties of Grammar being soon overcome, all the Historical Physiology of *Aristotle* and *Theophrastus* are open before them, and as I may say, under contribution. The like access will be to *Vitruvius*, to

Seneca's natural questions, to *Mela*, *Celsus*, *Pliny*, or *Solinus*. And having thus past the principles of Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy, and Geography with a general compact of Physics, they may descend in Mathematics to the instrumental science of Trigonometry, and from thence to Fortification, Architecture, Enginry, or Navigation. And in Natural Philosophy they may proceed leisurely from the History of meteors, minerals, plants and living creatures as far as Anatomy. Then also in course might be read to them out of some not tedious writer the institution of physic; that they may know the tempers, the humours, the seasons, and how to manage a crudity: which he who can wisely and timely do, is not only a great physician to himself, and to his friends, but also may at some time or other, save an army by this frugal and expenseless means only; and not let the healthy and stout bodies of young men rot away under him for want of this discipline; which is a great pity, and no less a shame to the commander. To set forward all these proceedings in Nature and Mathema-

tics, what hinders but that they may procure, as oft as shall be needful, the helpful experiences of hunters, fowlers, fishermen, shepherds, gardeners, apothecaries; and in the other sciences, architects, engineers, mariners, anatomists; who doubtless would be ready some for reward, and some to favour such a hopeful seminary. And this will give them such a real tincture of natural knowledge, as they shall never forget, but daily augment with delight. Then also those poets which are now counted most hard, will be both facile and pleasant, *Orpheus*, *Hesiod*, *Theocritus*, *Aratus*, *Nicander*, *Oppian*, *Dionysius*, and in Latin *Lucretius*, *Manilius*, and the rural parts of *Virgil*.

By this time, years and good general precepts will have furnished them more distinctly with that act of reason which in Ethics is called *Proairesis*: that they may with some judgement contemplate upon moral good and evil. Then will be required a special reinforcement of constant and sound indoctrinating to set them right and firm, instructing them more amply in the knowledge of virtue

and the hatred of vice: while their young and pliant affections are led through all the moral works of *Plato, Xenophon, Cicero, Plutarch, Laertius*, and those *Locrian* remnants; but still to be reduced, in their nightward studies wherewith they close the day's work, under the determinate sentence of *David* or *Salomon*, or the Evangels and Apostolic Scriptures. Being perfect in the knowledge of personal duty, they may then begin the study of Economics. And either now, or before this, they may have easily learnt at any odd hour the Italian tongue. And soon after, but with wariness and good antidote, it would be wholesome enough to let them taste some choice Comedies, Greek, Latin, or Italian: those Tragedies also that treat of household matters, as *Trachiniæ, Alcestis*, and the like.

The next remove must be to the study of Politics; to know the beginning, end, and reasons of Political Societies; that they may not in a dangerous fit of the Common-wealth be such poor, shaken, uncertain reeds, of such a tottering conscience, as many of our great counsellors have lately

shewn themselves, but stedfast pillars of the State. After this they are to dive into the grounds of Law, and legal Justice; delivered first, and with best warrant by *Moses*; and as far as human prudence can be trusted, in those extolled remains of Grecian Lawgivers, *Lycurgus*, *Solon*, *Zaleucus*, *Charondas*, and thence to all the Roman *Edicts* and Tables with their *Justinian*; and so down to the Saxon and common Laws of England, and the Statutes.

Sundays also and every evening may be now understandingly spent in the highest matters of *Theology*, and Church History ancient and modern: and ere this time the Hebrew tongue at a set hour might have been gained, that the Scriptures may be now read in their own original; whereto it would be no impossibility to add the Chaldee, and the Syrian dialect.

When all these employments are well conquered, then will the choice Histories, Heroic Poems, and Attic Tragedies of stateliest and most regal argument, with all the famous Political Orations offer themselves; which, if they were not only read, but some

of them got by memory, and solemnly pronounced with right accent and grace, as might be taught, would endue them even with the spirit and vigor of *Demosthenes* or *Cicero, Euripides,* or *Sophocles.*

And now lastly will be the time to read with them those organic arts which enable men to discourse and write perspicuously, elegantly, and according to the fitted style, of lofty, mean, or lowly. Logic therefore so much as is useful, is to be referred to this due place with all her well couched heads and topics, until it be time to open her contracted palm into a graceful and ornate Rhetoric taught out of the rule of *Plato, Aristotle, Phalereus, Cicero, Hermogenes, Longinus.* To which Poetry would be made subsequent, or indeed rather precedent, as being less subtle and fine, but more simple, sensuous and passionate. I mean not here the prosody of a verse, which they could not but have hit on before among the rudiments of Grammar; but that sublime art which in *Aristotle's Poetics,* in *Horace,* and the Italian commentaries of *Castelvetro, Tasso, Mazzoni,* and others,

teaches what the laws are of a true Epic Poem, what of a Dramatic, what of a Lyric, what decorum is, which is the grand masterpiece to observe. This would make them soon perceive what despicable creatures our common rimers and play-writers be, and shew them, what religious, what glorious and magnificent use might be made of Poetry both in divine and human things.

From hence and not till now will be the right season of forming them to be able writers and composers in every excellent matter, when they shall be thus fraught with an universal insight into things. Or whether they be to speak in Parliament or Council, honour and attention would be waiting on their lips. There would then also appear in pulpits other visages, other gestures, and stuff otherwise wrought than what we now sit under, oft times to as great a trial of our patience as any other that they preach to us. These are the Studies wherein our noble and our gentle youth ought to bestow their time in a disciplinary way from twelve to one and twenty; unless they rely more upon their

ancestors dead, than upon themselves living. In which methodical course it is so supposed they must proceed by the steady pace of learning onward, as at convenient times for memory's sake to retire back into the middle ward, and sometimes into the rear of what they have been taught, until they have confirmed, and solidly united the whole body of their perfected knowledge, like the last embattling of a Roman Legion. Now will be worth the seeing what exercises and recreations may best agree, and become these studies.

The course of Study hitherto briefly described, is, what I can guess by reading, likest to those ancient and famous Schools of *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, *Isocrates*, *Aristotle* and such others, out of which were bred up such a number of renowned philosophers, orators, historians, poets and princes all over *Greece*, *Italy*, and *Asia*, besides the flourishing Studies of *Cyrene* and *Alexandria*. But herein it shall exceed them, and supply a defect as great as that which *Plato* noted in the common-wealth of *Sparta*; whereas that city trained up their youth most for war, and

these in their *Academies* and *Lycæum*, all for the gown, this institution of breeding which I here delineate, shall be equally good both for peace and war. Therefore about an hour and a half ere they eat at noon should be allowed them for exercise and due rest afterwards: but the time for this may be enlarged at pleasure, according as their rising in the morning shall be early.

The exercise which I commend first is the exact use of their weapon, to guard and to strike safely with edge, or point; this will keep them healthy, nimble, strong, and well in breath, is also the likeliest means to make them grow large and tall, and to inspire them with a gallant and fearless courage, which being tempered with seasonable lectures and precepts to them of true fortitude and patience, will turn into a native and heroic valour, and make them hate the cowardice of doing wrong. They must be also practised in all the locks and grips of Wrestling, wherein English men were wont to excel, as need may often be in fight to tug or grapple, and to close. And this

perhaps will be enough, wherein to prove and heat their single strength.

The interim of unsweating themselves regularly, and convenient rest before meat may both with profit and delight be taken up in recreating and composing their travailed spirits with the solemn and divine harmonies of Music heard or learnt; either while the skilful *Organist* plies his grave and fancied descant, in lofty fugues, or the whole symphony with artful and unimaginable touches adorn and grace the well studied chords of some choice composer, sometimes the lute, or soft organ stop waiting on elegant voices either to religious, martial, or civil Ditties; which, if wise men and Prophets be not extremely out, have a great power over dispositions and manners, to smoothe and make them gentle from rustic harshness and distempered passions. The like also would not be unexpedient after meat to assist and cherish Nature in her first concoction, and send their minds back to study in good tune and satisfaction. Where having followed it close under vigilant eyes till about two hours be-

fore supper, they are by a sudden alarum or watch word, to be called out to their military motions, under sky or covert, according to the season, as was the Roman wont: first on foot, then as their age permits, on Horse-back, to all the Art of Cavalry; That having in sport, but with much exactness, and daily muster, served out the rudiments of their soldiership in all the skill of embattling, marching, encamping, fortifying, besieging, and battering, with all the helps of ancient and modern stratagems, *Tactics* and war-like maxims, they may as it were out of a long war come forth renowned and perfect commanders in the service of their country. They would not then, if they were trusted with fair and hopeful armies, suffer them for want of just and wise discipline to shed away from about them like sick feathers, though they be never so oft supplied: they would not suffer their empty and unrecrutible Colonels of twenty men in a Company to quaff out, or convey into secret hoards, the wages of a delusive list, and a miserable remnant: yet in the mean while to be over-

mastered with a score or two of drunkards, the only soldiery left about them, or else to comply with all rapines and violences. No certainly, if they knew aught of that knowledge that belongs to good men or good Governours, they would not suffer these things.

But to return to our own institute, besides these constant exercises at home, there is another opportunity of gaining experience to be won from pleasure itself abroad. In those vernal seasons of the year, when the air is calm and pleasant, it were an injury and sullenness against nature not to go out, and see her riches, and partake in her rejoicing with heaven and earth. I should not therefore be a persuader to them of studying much then, after two or three year that they have well laid their grounds, but to ride out in companies with prudent and staid guides, to all the quarters of the land: learning and observing all places of strength, all commodities of building and of soil, for towns and tillage, harbours and ports for trade. Sometimes taking sea as far as to our navy,

to learn there also what they can in the practical knowledge of sailing and of sea-fight.

These ways would try all their peculiar gifts of Nature, and if there were any secret excellence among them, would fetch it out, and give it fair opportunities to advance itself by, which could not but mightily redound to the good of this nation, and bring into fashion again those old admired virtues and excellencies, with far more advantage now in this purity of Christian knowledge. Nor shall we then need the *Monsieurs* of *Paris* to take our hopeful youth into their slight and prodigal custodies, and send them over back again transformed into mimicks, apes and kicshoes. But if they desire to see other countries at three or four and twenty years of age, not to learn principles but to enlarge experience, and make wise observation, they will by that time be such as shall deserve the regard and honour of all men where they pass, and the society and friendship of those in all places who are best and most eminent. And perhaps then other nations will be glad to

visit us for their breeding, or else to imitate us in their own country.

Now lastly for their Diet there cannot be much to say, save only that it would be best in the same house; for much time else would be lost abroad, and many ill habits got; and that it should be plain, healthful, and moderate I suppose is out of controversy.

Thus, Mr. *Hartlib*, you have a general view in writing, as your desire was, of that which at several times I had discoursed with you concerning the best and noblest way of Education; not beginning as some have done from the cradle, which yet might be worth many considerations, if brevity had not been my scope. Many other circumstances also I could have mentioned, but this, to such as have the worth in them to make trial, for light and direction may be enough. Only I believe that this is not a bow for every man to shoot in that counts himself a teacher; but will require sinews almost equal to those which *Homer* gave *Ulysses*, yet I am withal persuaded that it may prove much more easy in the assay, than it now seems at distance,

and much more illustrious: howbeit not more difficult than I imagine, and that imagination presents me with nothing but very happy and very possible according to best wishes; if God have so decreed, and this age have spirit and capacity enough to apprehend.

NOTES.

Page 1. **Tractate.** This name has now a somewhat old-fashioned ring. The word 'tract,' now generally applied to a very small book on a religious topic, is a shorter form of it. The Latin word *tractatus*, literally a handling (*tractare*, to handle, frequentative of *trahere*), is used frequently by Quintilian in the sense of dealing with a subject, and by Pliny for a little book. 'Tractate' comes to English direct from the Latin, and is probably of the Renaissance time, but the word had come into English through French. There is an old French treatise which is used by Chaucer, who wrote a prose Treatise on the Astrolabe, and near the beginning of it speaks of "thy bisy preyere in special to lerne the Tretis of the Astrolabie" (Skeat's edition, vol. iii., p. 175).

Master and afterwards **Mr.** The latter is an abbreviation of the former, as Mrs. was of Mistress. Mister and Missis as pronunciations are modern. Skeat says, "Richardson's supposition that it is connected with Middle English *mister*, a trade, is as absurd as it is needless; notwithstanding the oft-quoted 'what mister wight' (Spenser, *F. Q.* i. 9. 23)." Of course, that means "a wight of what kind" (*mister* = French *métier*, Latin *ministerium*), or, as we say, "what kind of a man."

Samuel Hartlib, Milton's friend, was partly a foreigner, a few (perhaps eight) years older than Milton. His father was a refugee from Poland, but his mother was English. He himself was in business in the city, but having plenty of leisure he devoted it to various public questions, especially to the reform of education. In this matter he was a zealous follower of John Amos Comenius, whom he admired more than Milton did. He published in England two of Comenius' educational books—one, at least, without obtaining the author's permission. Taking an interest in the improvement in education, Hartlib issued, at his own cost, several treatises on that subject. About twelve

Months after the meeting of the Long Parliament Hartlib dedi- **Page 1.**
cated to it a little tract, *A description of the famous kingdom of Macaria*, a short account of an ideal state. Macaria is Greek for 'happy land.' It is quite evident that Hartlib spent his substance freely, in publishing tracts by himself and others, in agricultural and in educational experiments; and as it was recognized that he had done this with a single eye to the public good, Cromwell granted him a pension of £300 a year, which, of course, was lost at the Restoration, when, by the bye, it was more than two years in arrears. The philanthropic Hartlib says that he was "familiarly acquainted with the best of Archbishops, Bishops, Earls, Viscounts, Barons, Knights, Esquires, Gentlemen, Ministers, Professors of both Universities, Merchants, and all sorts of learned or in any kind useful men." Under which of these heads shall we class Milton, who addressed to Hartlib his *Tractate of Education*, the result of a request made by Hartlib himself? Sir William Petty also wrote Two Letters to Hartlib on the same topic, the drift of these published letters being to give to education a more practical character. Hartlib was a man of boundless enthusiasm for reforms. "There is scarce one day," he wrote to a friend, "and one hour of the day or night, being brim full with all manner of objects of the most public and universal nature, but my soul is crying out,

> 'Phosphore, redde diem? Quid gaudia nostra moraris?
> Phosphore, redde diem.'"

l. 2. The sentence is inverted. "to say or do" depends on "move."

5. **to write the reforming,** *sc.* to write about.

8. **and for the want whereof.** An antecedent to "whereof" is omitted after "and."

9. **perishes.** Now we should use a periphrastic present and say 'is perishing.' "Yet" answers to "nevertheless" in l. 5.

11. **conjurements,** strictly speaking, 'the exorcising of spirits by invocation,' but sometimes used, as is also the verb 'conjure' in the sense of earnest appeal. The form 'conjuration' is commoner than 'conjurement.'

12. **diverted,** lit. turned away. 'Diversion' is now often used of the turning away of the mind from serious pursuits to amusement.

13. **assertions.** Milton was engaged in writing on the subject of Divorce, and in preparing the *Areopagitica* on the liberty of unlicensed printing.

3. **and honest living.** This should strictly be 'and of honest **Page 2.**
living.'

4. **laws.** A modern writer would say 'claims.'

Page 2. 5. **to divide thus or transpose my thoughts,** to divide my thoughts between such subjects as Divorce and Education, or to take them altogether away from the former topic; "transpose" is hardly now used of thoughts.

8. **the esteem,** etc. The meaning is, 'have won you with me the reputation of being a person sent hither.' One would say that this was obviously the meaning, were it not that a former editor, Mr. Oscar Browning, says that the person sent hither was John Amos Comenius. In such an interpretation the words 'with me' cease to have a meaning. A little further on (p. 3, l. 24) Milton speaks contemptuously of the books of Comenius; no doubt it is very improper of him so to speak, but it is quite certain that he does not praise him here and scoff at him forty lines later.

15. In the way this book is usually printed, this line begins with a capital after a full stop. He places another full stop after "working" (l. 21). The words between, however, do not form a sentence, nor even an elliptical sentence.

20. **or the peculiar,** strictly, 'by' should be inserted before "the peculiar."

25. **argument.** A modern writer would say 'subject.' The Latin *argumentum* has this force, and is specially used for the subject-matter of a play. Milton is fond of this use, *P. L.* i. 24, "the height of this great argument." Murray traces it from Ascham to Disraeli's *Revolutionary Epick*, but dismisses it as obsolete or archaic. Argument is also used by Milton for the summary of the contents of a book. An 'argument' is prefixed to each book of *Paradise Lost*.

Page 3. 1. 2. **incidental discourses,** chance conversations between Hartlib and Milton.

3. **pressed and almost constrained.** Then 'constrain' is a stronger word, here equivalent to compel. Etymologically it is not stronger than 'press together.'

4. **what you require,** object after "defer."

5. **ought defer.** Now we require 'to' after the auxiliary 'ought.'

10. **obligement,** obligation.

13. **voluntary Idea.** This noun was put in italic as a foreign word. The use of it in English is at least as old as Shakspere and Spenser, but Milton is using it in a special Greek sense. It is a Greek noun derived from the verb *ἰδεῖν*, to see, and meant (1) the look of a thing, (2) its form, then (3) its nature, kind, species; then there came a technical use in logic, from which Plato took the word in the sense of perfect archetype, model, pattern. Of such *ἰδεαι* all created things were the imperfect

types. In some sense like this, though not so technical, Milton used it, and because this sense is lost, we now have the noun 'ideal,' warped from its adjectival use. "We may die but the idea lives for ever. Liberty, equality, and fraternity must come" (Kingsley, *Alton Locke*, ch. xxxvii., p. 403). What is now 'idea' for us? How infinite the fall of this word, since the time when Milton sang of the Creator contemplating His newly-created world— **Page 3.**

"how it showed
In prospect from his throne, how good, how fair,
Answering his great idea."—*P. L.* vii. 557—

to its present use, when this person 'has an idea that the train has started,' and the other, 'had no idea that the dinner would be so bad.' Matters have not mended since the time of Dr. Johnson, who, as Boswell tells us, "was particularly indignant against the almost universal use of the word *idea* in the sense of *notion* or *opinion*, when it is clear that idea can only signify something of which an image can be formed in the mind." There is perhaps no word in the whole compass of the language so ill treated (Trench, *English Past and Present*, p. 313). *Voluntary idea* = voluntary pattern; no compulsion to be employed to make any conform to the pattern.

24. **Janua's and Didactics.** Milton is here sneering at Comenius. *Janua Linguarum Reserata* was the name of one of this author's books, the gate of languages opened, a method of teaching languages, "along with the elements of all the Sciences and Arts, comprehended under a hundred chapter-headings and in a thousand sentences." His aim, says Professor Laurie, was "to teach words through things and things through words." This book was translated into no fewer than fourteen different languages. The other book alluded to was called *Didactica Magna, Omnes omnia docendi artificia exhibens.* Didactica is singular, agreeing with Ars understood. "It was put forth as a systematic treatment of the whole question of Education." Milton is certainly too supercilious in his mention of Comenius, who was rendering excellent service to the cause of education. The best account of John Amos Comenius is that by Professor Laurie in the Education Library. The name is Latinized from Komenski. He was a Moravian and ultimately a Bishop of the Moravian Church, "Bishop of the Scattered Brethren." His dates are 1592-1671. It is chiefly as an educational reformer Comenius is remembered. In that capacity he came to London, and if the Civil War had not broken out he would probably have received revenues from Parliament to open a college. From England he went to Sweden, and later for a while he kept a school at Elbing in the province of Prussia. He wrote many books, over forty on Education.

Page 4. l. 2. **accept of.** The 'of' does not seem to be wanted, though it is not uncommon. Murray gives quotations from 1580 to 1818.

3. **flowered off.** The illustration is from the garden. These observations are the blossom that preceded the fruit of Milton's educational work. Then he changes the illustration. The "burnishing" means the polishing. They are not the main work of his life, but an ornament thrown in.

9. **The end of Learning.** Here, says Mark Pattison, "we have the theological Milton," as in the definition of Education on p. 9 we have Milton the citizen, "the true Milton."

The end then. On this paragraph Professor Laurie (*Addresses on Educational Subjects*, p. 167), remarks: "In this passage we have several propositions which it is worth our while to disentangle that we may clearly comprehend Milton's view of the End of Education. 1. The aim of Education is the knowledge of God and likeness to God. 2. *Likeness* to God we attain by possessing our souls of true Virtue and by the Heavenly Grace of Faith. 3. *Knowledge* of God we attain by the study of the visible things of God. 4. Teaching, then, has for its aim this knowledge. 5. Language is merely an instrument or vehicle for the knowledge of things. 6. The knowledge of all the languages in the world, without a knowledge of the solid things regarding which they treat, leaves a man less 'learned' than any farmer or tradesman who knows only his own vernacular, but, in and through that, has a competent knowledge of things."

17. **but on sensible things,** except on things which make themselves apparent to the senses.

20. **conning.** 'To con,' is to get to know. 'To con,' used by Bacon, is to know how. 'To ken' is to know. The Scotch say 'I dinna ken.'

21. **creature,** created things.

22. **seeing,** we should supply 'that' after seeing.

Page 5. l. 5. **to have all the tongues,** to know the languages. Cf. Bacon's Essay *Of Travel*, "He that travelleth into a country before he hath some entrance into the language, goeth to school, and not to travel. That young men travel under some tutor or grave servant, I allow well: so that he be such a one that hath the language."

6. **Babel.** *Gen.* xi. 9. Babel means 'Confusion.'

cleft, used as preterite of 'cleave,' to split,

"As the Red Sea and Jordan once he cleft."
Paradise Regained, iii. 438.

7. **things as well as words.** Milton's key note.

8. **lexicons**, dictionaries. For the use of 'lexicon' Johnson, quotes this passage, and Skeat quotes Blount's *Glossography*, published in the very year of Milton's death. "λεξικός, of or for words, τὸ λεξικόν *sc.* βιβλίον, a lexicon or dictionary. Phot. and late gramm" (Liddell & Scott's *Greek Lexicon*). Now-a-days it is chiefly in connection with Greek that 'lexicon' holds its own against 'dictionary.' **Page 5.**

9. **were** = would be.

nothing, used adverbially.

17. **otherwise**. This is the important word. Milton hardly explains any method by which it is possible.

20. **oft**, adverb used as adjective. Cf. 1 *Tim.* v. 23, "for thy stomach's care and thine often infirmities."

idle vacancies, *sc.* holidays. *Vacance* is French for the English 'vacation.' Milton may mean that the regular school holidays and University vacations are too long, or he may refer to the whole holidays in the middle of school time, or the no-lecture days during the University term. Red-letter Saints' days were at one time, and not very long ago, thus honoured.

22. **preposterous**, absurd; putting that *præ* in front which ought to be *post*, behind.

empty wits, *sc.* as not well stored with knowledge.

23. **themes**. This word is generally used now in its original sense, 'subject.' Greek, τίθημι, something set. It was a common word for a pupil's essay on a set subject.

verses. John Locke, writing half a century later, says, "If these may be any reasons against children making Latin themes at school, I have much more to say, and of more weight, against their making verses of any sort: for, if he has no genius to poetry, it is the most unreasonable thing in the world to torment a child, and to waste his time about that which can never succeed" (*Thoughts on Education*). Compulsory verse-making survived Milton's attack by more than two centuries, and even now is dying with difficulty.

l. 4. **the plucking**, etc. The sentence is not balanced properly. **Page 6.**

6. **barbarizing**, speaking or writing like a barbarian, violating the laws of Latin or Greek grammar. The Greeks called *all* foreigners βάρβαροι, which probably first meant 'stammering or talking gibberish.' The Romans took the word from the Greeks, but felt that they could not apply it to the Greeks themselves: so that in Latin *barbarus* means 'not Latin nor Greek.' Ovid, in exile, wrote, "Barbarus hic ego nunc, quia non intelligor ulli."

Page 6. 6. **against**, contrary to.

7. **idiom**, a mode of expression peculiar to a language—from Greek, ἴδιος, one's own. Skeat quotes Minshen's *Guide into the Tongues* (1627) with spelling "idiome."

8. **Anglicism**, introducing an English idiom into Latin or Greek. Murray quotes Bentley's *Phalaris* § 11, p. 318, "Dr. B. has abundance of pure Anglicisms in his Latin." The earliest use in the *New English Dictionary* is only two years before this Tractate.

10. **digested.** The word 'taste' following shows that the illustration is from the use of food. Latin *digero*, carry in different directions, hence, arrange. Ovid, *Flora*, "Hos ego digestos potui numerare colores." 'These colours I was able to divide and count.' In the Collect for Second Sunday in Advent:—"Blessed Lord, who hast caused all Holy Scriptures to be written for our learning, grant that we may in such wise hear them, read, mark, learn, and inwardly *digest* them." That is, that we may take different parts of the Scripture for different uses—some for instruction, some for encouragement, some for reproof. So *digesting* food means to send part to make bone, part to make blood, part to make brain, and so on.

12. **certain**, *sc.* regular. Milton is evidently of opinion that the regular grammar should be studied first, the irregular part afterwards.

14. **praxis.** The Greek πρᾶξις means practice;—use of the grammatical forms. Sometimes the word has the meaning of an exercise book.

15. **lessoned throughly**, taught thoroughly in lesson. Through is really the same word as thorough. This adverb is obsolete. Cf. *Psalm*, li. 2, "Wash me throughly from mine iniquity."

16. **substance of good things**, p. 5, l. 7, things as well as words.

17. **Arts**, here used in a technical University sense, as in the names of the degrees B.A. and M.A., and in the Middle Ages there were two courses—*trivium*, grammar, logic rhetoric, and the *quadrivium*, arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy. "Arts" here includes the substance of all these, though later Milton rails against the order. Milton holds that if the substance of these Arts be learnt in Latin, the Latin words and turns of speech will be learnt incidentally.

Page 7. l. 1. **Scholastic.** The school men were the philosophers of the Middle Ages, usually also theologians. Much of their time was spent on the discussion of nice refinements of metaphysical speculation. Milton, writing whilst the reaction against scholasticism was still strong, though it was about two centuries

after the Renaissance, speaks more violently than modern writers do. It is not considered right now to speak of the "grossness of barbarous ages." Page 7.

3. **most obvious to the sense.** We should say "the senses." Later reformers of education, such as Pestalozzi, hold this view strongly. We should begin with what appeals to the senses: therefore, of the seven Arts of the earlier curriculum, not with grammar, but with music for the hearing, astronomy and geometry for the sight.

4. **unmatriculated,** curiously technical. Matriculation is the technical term for admission to a University. *Matricula* is Latin for a register, diminutive of *matrix*, which is used in the same sense, being literally a parent-stock. Milton's scheme of Education set out in this Tractate is really a scheme for a new University. He means, then, that Logic and Metaphysics should not be taught at school, but kept for the University. All will agree about Metaphysics. As to Logic the following passage from Thomas Fuller: "Holy and Profane State," Book ii., chap. xvii., *The Good Schoolmaster*, p. 102 (a book published a year before Milton's Tractate), may be quoted: "He spoils not a good school, to make thereof a bad College, therein to teach his scholars Logic. For besides that Logic may have an action of trespass against grammar for encroaching on her liberties, syllogisms are solecisms taught in the school; and oftentimes they are forced afterwards, in the university, to unlearn the fumbling skill they had before."

5. **novices,** one who is new in any business, from *novitius*, a late form of Latin *novus*, new. The word is especially used during a period of probation of one who enters a religious house as a monk or nun.

intellective, another form of 'intellectual,' what can be grasped by the understanding, but not by the senses.

6. **Logic,** the science of exact reasoning, of the laws of thought.

Metaphysics, "the science which determines what can and what can not be known of being and the laws of being" (Coleridge).

8. **Grammatic flats and shallows.** Grammar is easy as compared with Logic and Metaphysics.

9. **unreasonably,** because they ought not to have found any difficulty.

12. **tossed and turmoiled.** Notice the alliteration—the latter verb is obsolete. The whole phrase is used in prose by Spenser, of whom Milton, according to Dryden, was the "poetical son." He "has acknowledged to me that Spenser was his original". (Church's *Spenser* (E. M. L.), p. 138).

Page 7. 13. **fadomless**, fadom, older form of 'fathom.' Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*, 2918; *Knight's Tale*, 2058:

"And twenty fadme [plural] of brede the armes stranghte."

16. **ragged**, harsh and disagreeable; rough, shaggy, rugged.

17. **babblements**, incoherent, imperfect or idle talk. The verb, 'to babble,' is an imitation of a child's earliest talk.

18. **poverty or youthful years call them importunately.** It is easy to see how poverty could call students from learning; not easy to see how youthful years could. Milton himself spent many years on his education, carrying on self-education at Horton for five years after he left Cambridge, and continuing it in travel. "His formal education," says Mr. Hales, "lasted down to his thirty-first year."

20. **their several ways**, to be clergymen, lawyers, politicians.

21. **either to an ambitious or ignorantly zealous.** This should run, 'or to an.'

ambitious and mercenary. Cf. *Lycidas*, 114:

"Enow of such as for their bellies' sake
Creep and intrude and climb into the fold."

23. **trade of Law.** Milton is severe upon the lawyers, though he sees that there might be lawyers whose one aim should be to secure justice.

Page 8. l. 2. **litigious terms.** This is ambiguous. It does not here mean 'language,' but the definite division of the legal year, the period during which courts are open.

5. **unprincipled**, not knowing the rudiments, the *principia* or first principles of virtue. Cf. *Comus*, 357:

"Or so unprincipled in virtue's book."

6. **Court shifts.** Milton's hostility to the monarchy is apparent here.

10. **feigned**, pretended. In original spelt 'fained'; but 'fain,' 'I would fain,' for 'I would gladly,' is not the same as 'feign,' through French, from Latin *fingo*.

12. **retire themselves**, retire, first withdraw, and a transitive verb.

19. **either in learning**, *sc.* in learning either.

24. **hill side**, so as to get a wider view.

Page 9. l. 4. **harp of Orpheus.** Orpheus in Greek mythology was said to have enchanted with his music, not only the wild beasts, but the trees and rocks upon Olympus, so that they moved from their

places to follow the sound of his harp. Cf. Shakspere, *Merchant of Venice*, v. i. 80: Page 9

"the poet
Did feign that Orpheus drew trees, stones, and floods;
Since nought so stockish, hard and full of rage,
But music for the time doth change his nature."

5. **I doubt not.** "We cannot but wonder whether Milton's belief survived the experience of 'the pretty garden-house in Aldersgate'" (Quick, *Educational Reformers*, p. 216).

6. **ado**, lit. 'to do.' What is here ado? etc., a-doing; later the word means 'trouble.' Cf. French *à faire, affaire.*

7. **stocks and stubs.** A stock is the trunk of a tree, but is used for a block of wood. "When all our fathers worshipt stocks and stones" (Milton, *Massacre of Piedmont*). Then a dull person. As Shakspere, *Taming of Shrew*, i. 1. 31, "Let's be no stoics nor no stocks." Stub = stump, the part of a tree left in the ground when the tree is cut down.

10. **sowthistles**, a plant so called, because it was said to be eaten by swine and some other animals.

13. **docible**, not a mistake for docile, but an archaic word meaning 'teachable.' *Docilis* is classical Latin, but there is also a late Latin word, *docibilis.*

15. Notice this fine definition of education.

16. **offices**, the Latin *officia*, duties.

21. **Sophistry**, probably referring to rhetoric, which follows after grammar. The name Sophist is always opposed to philosopher; yet Liddell and Scott (*s.v.*) say—"Many of the Sophists doubtless cared not for truth or morality, and merely professed to teach how to make the worse appear the better reason; but there seems no reason to hold that they were a special class, teaching special opinions; even Socrates and Plato were sometimes styled Sophists." The word occurs in Chaucer, *Legend of Good Women*, 137:

"Had him betrayed with his sophistrye."

The word 'sophist' was new, and it is probable that Milton was not borrowing from Chaucer, nor from the French, but taking 'sophist' from Greek, and adding a termination.

22. **First.** It will be noticed this is not a sentence, having no finite verb.

23. **Academy**, properly the name of the garden where Plato taught his disciples. *Paradise Regained*, iv. 244:

"See there the olive grove of Academe,
Plato's retirement";

later, a place of higher education. In this sense, as Murray says,

Page 9. the word has been abused, and is now in discredit. At page 21, line 1, it is a proper name. The word was not so very new; the form 'academe' was used by Shakspere, *Love's Labour's Lost*, near beginning.

Page 10. l. 6. **heeding**, not a correctly used present participle; it cannot agree with place.

7. **peculiar.** All that a slave had was his master's; *peculium* was a private purse allowed to him by custom. We should rather say 'special' than 'peculiar.'

9. **practitioners.** This word has a double ending; 'practician' was enough without the 'er.' Chaucer more correctly has 'practisour' (Prol. 422). Here it applies to lawyers as well as doctors.

11. **Lilly.** When Dean Colet founded St. Paul's School in London, William Lilly was his first headmaster (see Seebohm, *Oxford Reformers*, p. 220). The Latin grammar, which went by the name of *Lilly's Grammar*, was really Colet's, published after revision by Erasmus and Lilly. The grammar was evidently still in use at St. Paul's when, more than a century after its foundation, Milton was a boy at the school.

commence, a technical University term for taking a degree. Commencement is a Degree Day.

17. **civility**, good citizenship. Milton has in the Introduction to *Church Government*, "To inbreed and cherish in a great people the sense of virtue and public civility." Knowing Milton's public spirit, I think this is the sense, but 'civility' is used in the sense of the modern word 'culture.'

25. **Grammar.** From what follows it is evident that Milton is thinking not of English grammar, but of Latin. That "now used" would be Lilly's. See above l. 11.

Page 11. l. 2. **pronuntiation.** Milton is in favour of what is now called the new pronunciation,—the Italian sound of the vowels. The other was introduced by Erasmus out of dislike to the monkish pronunciation.

10. **as ill a hearing**, as bad to hear.

Law-French, "the principal characteristics of which are a limited vocabulary and a complete degradation of all forms of inflection" (*Toynbee Specimens of Old French*, p. 375). It was pronounced in Milton's time as if it were a kind of English. "Cestui que trust" is a good specimen. It means the one for whose benefit a trust has been created.

16. **book of Education**, *sc.* a book that will help to educate or train them. This is education in its true sense—not instruction.

17. **read to.** Mr. Browning says, "In what language? Certainly not in Greek, perhaps not even in Latin." If not, it is a little difficult to see how the reading would make them "expert in the usefullest points of grammar." **Page 11**

18. **Cebes** (Κέβης), a disciple of Socrates introduced as one of the speakers in Plato's *Phædo*, and present at Socrates' death. It is not certain that the *Pinax* (πίναξ, a table), now extant and once very popular, is genuine. It is a "philosophical explanation of a *table*, on which the whole of human life, with its dangers and temptations, was symbolically represented.... The author introduces some youths contemplating the table, and an old man who steps among them undertakes to explain its meaning. The whole drift of the little book is to show that only the proper development of our mind by the possession of real virtues can make us truly happy" (Smith's *Dict.*).

Plutarch. The reference is not to his Lives, but to the *Moralia*, in which "he gives much sound advice on the bringing up of children" (Smith's *Dict.*).

21. **Quintilian.** His great work is called *De Institutione Oratoria*. "The first book contains a dissertation on the preliminary training requisite before a youth can enter directly upon the studies necessary to mould an accomplished orator, and presents us with a carefully sketched outline of the method to be pursued in educating children, from the time they leave the cradle until they pass from the hands of the grammarian" (Smith's *Dict.*). The second book is on rhetoric. Milton's memory had played him false.

24. **temper them such.** 'Them' *sc.* for them; 'temper' in the Latin sense of *tempero*, moderate, low down.

l. 21. **even playing.** It is a pity the mode of play has not been preserved. In a similar way we are told that Montague learnt Greek in play. The art is lost. **Page 12.**

l. 1. **Cato,** M. Porcius Cato, the Censor (first half of second century B.C.). "The work *de Re Rustica*, which we now possess under the name of Cato, is probably substantially his, though it is certainly not exactly in the form in which it proceeded from his pen" (Smith's *Dict.*). **Page 13.**

Varro. M. Terentius Varro, called "the most learned of the Romans," wrote at the age of eighty, three books *de Re Rustica*.

Columella. He lived in the early part of the first century A.D. "His great work is a systematic treatise upon Agriculture, in the most extended acceptation of the term" (Smith's *Dict.*).

Page 13. 9. **Hercules' praises.** One of the points for which Hercules was praised. He was said to "tame" the land, *i.e.* to clear it from robbers, to make roads, to cultivate it. He may be regarded as symbolical of civilization.

10. **will soon be.** Their bulk amounts to about 25,000 lines of a Latin prose, not so difficult as Cæsar.

12. **ordinary prose,** *sc.* Latin.

14. **modern author,** Masson, vol. iii., p. 245, adds "Latin." This seems clear, as it follows the statement about reading prose; but to have modern names in Latin would aggravate the difficulty of learning geography.

15. **old names,** names in antiquity. Milton wants geography to include Ancient or Classical as well as Modern geography.

16. **capable to,** according to modern usage, 'capable *of*' reading.

17. **Natural Philosophy,** name often applied to Physics. The latter name is the better.

18. **might be,** nominative omitted, 'they.'

22. **Historical Physiology of Aristotle and Theophrastus.** Physiology is the science that deals with living organisms, and is either vegetable or animal, the former often being called Botany. 'Historical' seems a strange epithet for Physiology. Can it mean the 'old, accepted'? More likely Milton is probably thinking of the Greek word *ἱστορία*, which meant 'inquiry' or 'investigation.' The title of Aristotle's book on animals is *ἡ περὶ τὰ ζῷα ἱστορία*, and that of Theophrastus' book on botany is *ἡ περὶ φυτῶν ἱστορία*. From the sense of 'inquiry' the word passed to mean 'a collection of facts.' Cf. *Natural History*, and p. 14, l. 10.

25. **Vitruvius,** a writer on Architecture, of the Augustan Age.

Page 14. l. 1. **Seneca's natural questions.** *Quæstionum Naturalium Libri Septem*, "one of the few Roman works in which physical matters are treated of. It is not a systematic work, but a collection of natural facts" (Smith's *Dict.*). Seneca was a philosopher and tutor of the emperor Nero.

Mela, Pomponius Mela, "the first Roman author, who composed a formal treatise upon Geography" (Smith). It has been conjectured that he was Seneca's brother, and the father of Lucan the poet.

Celsus, A. Cornelius Celsus, also probably of the Augustan age, wrote on Medicine.

2. **Pliny,** generally called "the elder Pliny," wrote *Historia Naturalis*. He was not an original observer, but he worked up

facts derived from others. He perished in the eruption of Vesuvius which overwhelmed Pompeii. "The younger Pliny" was his nephew, and is famous for his epistles. **Page 14.**

2. **Solinus**, compiler of a not very valuable account of the world, chiefly drawn from Pliny's *Historia Naturalis*. Solinus was a favourite author towards the end of the Middle Ages, but is forgotten now. It may be added that Milton's later opponent, Saumaise or Salmasius, edited Solinus.

3. **Astronomy**, included under "Use of the Globes," p. 13, l. 14.

4. **compact**, substantival use of the past partic. 'compact'; here meant 'a body of facts.'

6. **Trigonometry**, hardly now an instrumental science. Milton means 'land surveying.'

8. **Enginry**, *sc.* engineering in the sense of the art of constructing engines, chiefly in warfare. Civil engineering, under that name, is probably not a century old.

13. **institution**, here used in the French sense = instruction, or a book of instruction. This sense is given in Johnson, but is now obsolete.

14. **the tempers, the humours.** The two words mean the same thing. According to ancient theories of medicine, man had within him four humours—black bile, yellow bile, blood, and phlegm. The mixture of these was called his temperament, or temper (Latin *tempero*, mix). The Greek was *σύγκρασις*, hence our idiosyncrasy. If the mixture was in good proportions the man was said to be good-tempered, or good-humoured. If one or other humour preponderated, then he was (1) *melancholy*, sad (Greek *μέλας*, black, *χόλη*, bile), or atrabilious (Latin form with same meaning), (2) *choleric*, violent (*χόλη*), (3) *sanguine*, hopeful; or (4) *phlegmatic*, dull. Mischief in the body was traced to the presence of humours, and a trace of the theory is to be seen in the names Gout and Rheumatism.

15. **the seasons**, *i.e.* from a medical point of view, 'when to bleed,' 'when to take medicine,' etc.

16. **a crudity**, indigestion. Lat. *crudus* means 'raw.' Murray adds, "In old physiology, imperfect concoction of the humour." Cf. p. 22, l. 22.

19. **save an army.** For the allusion, see Introduction, pp. xxi., xxii.

22. **discipline**, as in Lat. *disciplina*, teaching, instruction.

24. **commander.** The allusion is to Essex; see Introduction, pp. xxi., xxii. This is hardly the modern view. A general is not expected to be a physician, nor to interfere in the physician's province; but he should secure the best advice. The importance

Page 14. of the medical department of an army is very great. The Ashantee War could have been called the 'Doctor's War.'

Page 15. l. 1. **but that,** Latin *quin.*

4. **apothecaries.** The word is now archaic. 'Chemist' is the word generally used in England; 'druggist' in the United States, where 'chemist' is reserved for the scientific student of chemistry. The Greek ἀποθήκη means 'a store.' The word 'apothecary' comes through Old French and Late Latin, and meant originally 'one who kept a store or shop of such commodities as spices and drugs.' For two centuries an apothecary has been a legally qualified medical practitioner. Before 1700 he was simply a seller of drugs. Cf. Chaucer, Prol. 425:

> "Ful redy hadde he (the doctour of Phisik) his apothecaries,
> To send hin drogges, and his letuaries,
> For ech of hem made other for to winne."

5. **sciences,** branches of knowledge. In Milton's day science had not its special modern meaning. Nor had it in Gray's time, a century later.

> "Fair Science frowned not on his humble birth."
>
> "Grateful Science still adores
> Her Henry's holy shade."

13. **Orpheus.** An Epic poem called the *Argonautica*, a poem *Lithica* on precious stones, and a number of hymns, were long believed to be the work of Orpheus, the minstrel of whom various stories are told; see note, p. 9, l. 4. It is now known that the poems are forgeries of a date much later than the time of Orpheus, if he ever existed.

Hesiod, author of *Works and Days*, chiefly concerned with agriculture and similar matters, was either contemporary with Homer, or lived within one hundred years of his time.

Theocritus, a native of Sicily, the creator of bucolic poetry. His poems are called idylls, and about a third of them deal with country life.

14. **Aratus** wrote two poems on Astronomy. He and Nicander lived in the third century B.C.

Nicander wrote a poem on venomous animals called *Theriaka.* He wrote many other poems now lost, including a *Georgica.*

Oppian. There were two poems written by a poet with this name—the *Halieutica* and the *Cynegetica.* It is now believed that they were not by the same writer. The *Halieutica* (ἁλιευτικά), a poem on fishes and fishing, was probably written in the latter half of the second century of our era. The other, a poem on hunting, was probably about a generation later.

14. **Dionysius**, who wrote a poem in hexameters called περιήγησις τῆς γῆς, a geography in verse of the earth as known in his time, which was probably near the close of the first century of our era. In Smith's *Dictionary* accounts are given of no fewer than sixty-six men bearing the name of Dionysius. **Page 15.**

15. **Lucretius**, a Roman poet before the Augustan Age. His great poem is *De Rerum Natura*. All should read Tennyson's magnificent poem based on the tradition as to his death.

Manilius, author of an astrological poem called *Astronomica*, who probably lived in the time of Augustus.

16. **rural parts of Virgil**, the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*.

20. **Proairesis**, a Greek word προαίρεσις, "choosing one thing before another; an act of deliberate choice, purpose, resolution" (L. and S.).

l. 3. **Plato.** Many of Plato's dialogues treat of virtue. It is curious that Aristotle is not included in this list. **Page 16.**

Xenophon. These would be the *Cyropædia* and the *Memorabilia*.

Cicero wrote a good many essays on moral questions, such as the *Tusculan Disputations* and *De Officiis*.

Plutarch wrote a collection of essays generally called the *Moralia*, though all are not on ethical questions. Cf. note, p. 11, l. 18.

4. **Laertius.** Diogenes Laertius, author of a series of lives of philosophers, φιλόσοφοι βίοι, much studied at the time of the Renaissance.

Locrian remnants. Probably referring to a work by Timæus of Locri, a Pythagorean philosopher, supposed to have been a teacher of Plato. The work is called περὶ ψυχῆς κόσμου καὶ φύσιος —about the soul of the universe and of nature. Its genuineness is, however, very doubtful, and it is in all probability nothing more than an abridgment of Plato's dialogue called the *Timæus*.

5. **still**, *sc.* always, constantly, as in Shakspere.

reduced, lit. brought back. Lat. *reduco*. The young men are every night to study the Bible: they are to be brought back to be under the influence of David, Solomon, the Gospel-writers and the Apostles.

7. **determinate sentence** opinion spoken with no uncertain sound, because inspired.

8. **Evangels**, Gospels, εὐαγγέλια, glad tidings. In the second edition, this word is printed "evanges," but this is obviously a misprint. In the *New English Dictionary* no such spelling is given: and Milton would be the last man to omit the 'l,' which at once connects the word etymologically with 'angel.'

Page 16. 11. **Economics.** Readers must not give the word a modern meaning. Nowadays this plural substantive is often used as equivalent to 'Political Economy,' the very rudiments of which science were only appearing in Milton's time. It was then called 'Policical Arithmetic.' The name Political Economy is not one hundred and thirty years old. Milton means 'the art of managing a household.' Had he attached importance to spelling he would have written Œconomics (*οἰκονόμικαι*).

And either ... Italian tongue. Probably the best remembered sentence in the whole Tractate. It may be conjectured that it was inserted as an after thought, actually written after the statement that the students might taste comedies in Italian.

14. It has often been pointed out that Milton was deficient in humour. Without "wariness and good antidote" he is afraid that comedies may hurt the morals of his young men.

16. **Comedies,** *Greek,* Aristophanes; *Latin,* Plautus; *Italian,* Goldoni.

17. **household matters,** *sc.* the affairs of one family, as opposed to plays

> " Presenting Thebes or Pelop's line,
> Or the State of Troy divine."—*Il Penseroso,* 99.

18. **Trachiniæ,** a play by Sophocles, dealing with the story of Hercules and his wife.

Alcestis, a play by Euripides, which has been translated by Browning in *Balaustion's Adventure,* cf. Sonnet xviii.:

> " Methought I saw my late espoused saint,
> Brought to me like Alcestis from the grave,
> Whom Jove's great son to her glad husband gave."

20. **Politics.** Now, we should rather call this 'Political Philosophy.'

Page 17. l. 7. **Lycurgus,** lawgiver of Sparta.

Solon, lawgiver of Athens.

Zaleucus, lawgiver of Locri in Magna Græcia (South Italy).

Charondas, lawgiver of cities in Magna Græcia.

Only fragments of these laws are extant.

8. **Edicts,** *sc.* of the Praetors. One learned in Roman Law gives me the following note: The Praetor during the Republic was the magistrate principally concerned in the administration of justice. Like the other superior magistrates he had the power of issuing edicts in matters within his office. The system of law which he administered was that of the Twelve Tables, a compilation which was made at an unusually early stage of social development, and thus necessarily soon became unfitted

to the society. But early societies have a great distrust of inno- **Page**
vation, and legislation other than by way of *declaration* of the law is almost unknown. A mitigation of the evils of an archaic system of law was found in the power of the Praetor. He had a wide discretion in the giving of actions, and soon used it to supplement the statute or to cover omitted cases, and eventually succeeded in effect in amending the law in the more glaring cases of injustice. The rules according to which this discretion would be exercised were embodied in an edict issued on the assumption of office; and by the end of the Republic two rules were established—that a Praetor was bound not to alter his edict during his year of office, and that a Praetor must not lightly depart from the edict of his predecessor. Thus there grew up a definite body of law alongside the law of the Twelve Tables, distinct in many respects, but administered as part of it and in the same tribunal. It was upon the edict that most of the speculations of the jurists were based, and its *æquitas* was extolled by the Stoics.

9. **Tables**, the laws of the XII. tables, dating from the Decemvirate at Rome.

Justinian, the emperor of the Eastern Roman Empire, under whom, in the sixth century, the Roman law was codified.

10. **Saxon Laws.** There is not much to be learnt under this head.

common Law, the unwritten law of England, a system of jurisprudence originating in custom, as distinguished from statute law. It is gathered from the reports of cases adjudicated.

11. **Statutes**, recognized term for a specific law made by a legislature; in England by King, Lords, and Commons.

16. **a set hour**, opposed to "any odd hour the Italian tongue."

19. **Chaldee**, the Eastern Aramaic dialect of the Semitic family of languages; more properly Chaldaic.

Syrian. Syriac is the modern form for the name of the language; the Western Aramaic dialect.

23. **argument.** Cf. p. 2, l. 25, note.

l. 7. **organic arts.** Milton uses 'organic' in its original sense **Page**
= instrumental; ὄργανον = instrument. The organic arts are oratory and composition. Logic, rhetoric, and the art of poetry are looked on as subsidiary to, or parts of these.

10. **Logic.** Milton, during the last period of his life, published a treatise on Logic, written, as the manner was then, in Latin—*Artis Logicæ Plenior Institutio, ad Petri Rami Methodum Concinnata.*

12. **couched**, *sc.* arranged. Latin, *colloco.*

Page 18. 12. **topics.** Aristotle uses the word Τόποι; Cicero, *communes loci*, for common places. "Topicks (*topica*), books that speak of *places* of invention, or that part of Logick which treats of the invention of argument" (*Blount's Glossary*, ed. 1674).

13. **contracted palm.** Logic expresses concisely what rhetoric expands.

15. **Plato.** The reference is to the *Gorgias*, which is a dialogue on rhetoric, and perhaps to the *Ion*, which is on literary criticism.

Aristotle wrote a Rhetoric, as well as the Poetics referred to below (l. 23).

Phalereus. The reference is to a work, περὶ ἑρμηνείας, which has been handed down under the name of an orator of the latter half of the fourth century, B.C., Demetrius of Phalerus (a deme of Attica), but which more probably was the work of another Demetrius, an Alexandrine grammarian of the second century of our era.

16. **Cicero** wrote various treatises on Rhetoric.

Hermogenes, one of the most celebrated Greek rhetoricians, a native of Tarsus, who lived in the second century of our era. When a young man he wrote several books on Rhetoric, which are extant, but are now very little used.

Longinus, a Greek philosopher of the third century of our era. He is best remembered as the adviser of Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra. The book here referred to is a treatise, περὶ ὕψους, *On the Sublime*. The homage which Longinus used to receive for this treatise is well shown in the lines of Pope, *Essay on Criticism*, 675:

> "Thee, bold Longinus! all the Nine inspire,
> And bless their critic with a poet's fire:
> An ardent judge, who, zealous in his trust,
> With warmth gives sentence, yet is always just;
> Whose own example strengthens all his laws,
> And is himself that great sublime he draws."

Doubt has been cast upon Longinus' authorship of the famous treatise. There is no good evidence that he wrote it; and "opinion," says Mr. Andrew Lang, "still floats undecided about its origin and period." He inclines to the belief that it is, "if not by Plutarch, at least by some author of his age, the age of the early Cæsars." On the other hand, many good scholars hold that the style of the Greek is a strong argument for the old belief that the book is, after all, by Zenobia's tutor.

19. **simple, sensuous and passionate.** These epithets, applied by Milton to poetry, are often quoted: 'appealing to the senses,' 'rousing the passions.'

24. **Horace.** *Ars Poetica.* "The omission by Milton here of such English books as Sir Philip Sidney's *Apologie for Poetrie* (1595), and Puttenham's *Art of English Poesie* (1589), is a striking instance of his resolute non-regard of everything English" (Masson). **Page 18**

25. **Castelvetro.** Ludovico Castelvetro was an Italian critic who, about eighty years before Milton's Tractate, wrote a commentary on the Poetics of Aristotle, which is acute, learned, and independent, but very subtle and minute.

Tasso, the great Italian poet, who died in 1595, nearly fifty years before Milton's Tractate, wrote on the art of poetry.

Mazzoni, an Italian critic, who, a little before the time of Tasso's death, defended Dante against sundry critics.

l. 6. **rimers.** There is no justification for the modern spelling 'rhyme.' The reason of it is that 'rhythm' is spelt with 'rh'—rightly, as the ρ in Greek $\rho\upsilon\theta\mu\acute{o}s$ is aspirated. **Page 19.**

play-writers. Did Milton mean to include Shakspere and Ben Jonson? If so, he has changed his mind, since to the Second Folio of Shakspere he contributed the lines,

"What needs my Shakspeare for his honoured bones?"

and wrote in *L'Allegro*

"Then to the well-trod stage anon,
If Jonson's learned sock be on,
Or sweetest Shakespear, fancy's child
Warble his native wood-notes wild."

Shakspere had been dead twenty-eight years. It was fourteen years since the Second Folio had appeared, and Ben Jonson was but seven years dead. Milton's contempt for English literature is followed by his contempt for English preachers, perhaps the greatest of whom was Milton's contemporary, Jeremy Taylor.

10. **From hence.** After this the 'from' is not wanted, being already involved in the 'hence.'

19. **sit under**, a curious modernism.

l. 1. **ancestors dead.** The education is intended for the well-born, but Milton sneers at those who rely solely on their birth. **Page 20.**

5. **retire back.** They are to go over their earlier and even their elementary studies.

6. **ward.** The same word as guard. The middle ward is the central body of troops.

9. **embattling**, drawing up in order of battle. There is a verb to embattle, *sc.* to set in battle array.

12. **become**, *sc.* suit.

Page 20. 15. **Schools.** It has to be done by 'guessing.' No account of these schools has come down to us, and it is tolerably certain that their course of study was not in the least like that which Milton has described.

20. **Asia,** *sc.* Asia Minor, as in the New Testament.

besides the flourishing Studies. The meaning of this is not clear. Mr. Browning says, "Studies = Schools or Universities." There the construction would be likest to the schools of Pythagoras, etc., not to mention the schools of Cyrene and Alexandria.

Page 21. l. 1. **Academies.** Note, p. 9, l. 23.

Lycæum. Cf. *Paradise Regained,* iv. 250:

"within the walls then view
The schools of ancient sages; his who bred
Great Alexander to subdue the world,
Lyceum there, and painted Stoa next."

The Lyceum was a gymnasium at Athens, outside the walls (Milton by an error puts it inside). It was frequented by Aristotle, who taught Alexander the Great.

2. **the gown** = civil life. Latin *toga* is thus used.

Page 22. l. 6. **travailed,** *sc.* after toil.

8. **Music.** Milton's father was a musician and composer. Milton himself was a great lover of music and a skilled player on the organ.

9. **Organist.** No earlier use of this word can be found.

descant, a technical term for a variation of the main song.

10. **fugues.** "A fugue is a short, complete melody, which flies (hence the name) from one point to another, while the original part is continued in counterpoint against it" (Sir G. Macfarren). In *Paradise Lost,* xi. 558:

"the sound
Of instruments that made melodious chime
Was heard, of harp and organ; and who moved
Their stops and chords was seen; his volant touch
Instinct through all proportions low and high
Fled and pursued transverse the resonant fugue."

symphony, a consonance or harmony of sounds agreeable to the ear.

14. **waiting on,** now accompanying.

15. **Ditties,** songs—through French from the Latin *dictatum.*

17. **out,** very idiomatic for 'wrong.'

21. **unexpedient,** *in* is the modern prefix. It is thought to be more correct as the Latin prefix to a Latin word.

22. **first concoction.** "The old physiology recognized three processes: First concoction, digestion in the stomach; Second concoction, the process whereby the chyme so formed is changed into blood; Third concoction, secretion" (Murray's *New English Dict.*). **Page 22.**

l. 1. **alarum,** same word as 'alarm,' from Italian *allarme,* 'to arms,' originally, as here, a summons to take up arms. **Page 23.**

3. **motions,** drill.

12. **Tactics** (a new word, though found earlier in Ben Jonson), properly the art of arranging men in battle (here called embattling), but used in a much wider sense; the whole art of employing and moving troops.

15. **commanders.** "Observe: the contemplated Academy was one for gentlemen's sons only" (Masson).

16. **They would not then.** See Introduction, p. xxi.

21. **unrecrutible.** "The drop in style ('unrecrutible,' for instance, is little better than a *vox nihili*) as well as in tone here is very noteworthy, and very characteristic of Milton. He passes in both from the poet to the pamphleteer" (G. Saintsbury, *Specimens of English Prose Style,* p. 68). The accusation against the Colonels is, first, that they could not get men, but that they took money for wages as if their company lists were full; secondly, that they drank or hoarded this money; thirdly, that they maintained no discipline over their few men.

l. 10. Here we have Milton the poet rather than the schoolmaster. **Page 24.**

13. **it were,** *sc.* it would be.

19. **well laid their grounds,** ambiguous. It probably meant having mastered the rudiments of learning.

22. **commodities,** conveniences.

l. 13. **Monsieurs of Paris.** Milton, like Shakspere, was a thorough Englishman in scorning foreigners, but especially Frenchmen. One reason in Milton's case was that the French were Roman Catholics (Papists, he would have said). His scorn has made him indulge in bad French grammar (*Messieurs*). In a much later work, published ten years after the Restoration, the *History of Britain,* near the end, Milton says, "Then began the English to lay aside their own ancient customs, and in many things to imitate French manners, the great peers to speak French in their houses, in French to write their bills and letters, as a great piece of gentility, ashamed of their own: a presage of their subjection shortly to that people whose fashion and language they affected so slavishly." It is curiously unhistorical, **Page 25.**